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조경학석사 학위논문

## People, Plants, Place & Process:

A Landscape Ethnography through the Gardens  
of an Urban Village Kaemi-Maeul, Soedaemun-gu,  
Seoul, Korea

인간, 식물, 장소와 과정:

- 도시마을의 텃밭 정원으로 경관민족지학 분석 서울  
서대문구 홍제동 개미마을 -

2016년 8월

서울대학교 환경대학원

환경조경학과

Jarod Farn-Guillette

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서울대학교 환경대학원 환경조경학과

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위 논문은 서울대학교 및 환경대학원 환경조경학과 학위논문 관련  
규정에 의거하여 심사위원의 지도과정을 충실히 이수하였음을  
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## Preface

We live in a time when things that react to our touch behind either a 3 by 5 inch screen or with a click and clack and a tap is considered more important than the soft sound of a trowel in dirt. It is the non-edible apples and blackberries that capture the attention and amazement of many children, adults and elderly persons alike. The majority of cultural dissemination is done on these objects, electrons through copper and liquid crystals changing within nanoseconds has replaced the book, growing a garden on an “android” is more profitable in many ways than in the dirt. Information is cheapened and our attention spans shortened. We weep, for a moment, for a famine in a far away place, then laugh our selves sick after the commercial break. High heels becomes a semiotic symbol for high class, despite the latter not having a price tag. Many, including myself, who study landscape architecture, don’t know our pinus from our picea, let alone what environmental conditions they prefer. We’ve traded our traditions for the sleek appeal and authoritative power of the digital screen. What was once our colouse of trees is now framed by pixel inches.

This thesis is in one part an attempt to learn a way of gardening that can’t easily be done with books or on-line tutorial videos as well as produce a written product that might be of use for other people seeking to learn the same thing. The apples and blackberries that weaken our eyesight and intellect will vanish with the next “revolution” in technology, but the real progress in humanity is the constant variables, the landscape. Landscape architecture is a practice and a process in making the world out of a cognitive dissonance, we see “a discord between the world that is, and ought to be<sup>1</sup>.” In the long span of time and landscape, plants are the words on paper, and word on paper will have more impact than the flash-in-the-screen. This thesis is an attempt to have an impact, no matter how small, but lasting, in an era when words carry less meaning than before. How can they when they last for as long as your thumb or index finger decides they are necessary.

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Rabbi Johnathan Sacks, on faith.

## Abstract (국문)

1945년부터 집단이주는 주요한 세계현상이었지만 요즘 들어 이 현상은 둔화되며 줄어드는 추세이다. 한국 전쟁과 경제, 세계화와 기술들은 국경선을 건너고, 농촌지역을 벗어나 도시 안으로 들어가는 대중들에게 영향을 끼쳤다. 한국도 예외는 아니다. 1950년 6월 25일, 한국전쟁은 많은 농촌지역과 농민들의 경관을 바꾸고 도심지 산업의 급속한 변화를 주었다. 이 거대한 유입은 이미 서울의 붐비는 도시마을이나 부락, 도시의 사람이 살지 않는 많은 산비탈 등의 남아있는 조경설계가 되지 않은 일반주택 양식으로 들어와 주로 경제적으로 빈곤한 난민에게 영향을 주었다. 이런 마을 중 하나가 “개미 마을”이다. 서울시 서대문구 홍제동 인왕산 자락의 뽕뽕하게 접어 놓은 이곳은 작은집과 정원의 집합체이며 매머드도시 안의 있는 농촌의 오아시스이다.

마을주민들은 주로 전쟁난민이나 그들의 후손으로 다른 경관 또는 다양한 농업지식을 가진 사람들이다. 이 마을 사람들의 예스러움과 그림 같은 아름다움, 특별한 색감을 표현하기에는 최적의 마을이다. 정원을 가꾸는 노하우도 한계상황에 맞게 가지고 있다. 또한 개미마을은 극한 환경에 제한된 공간을 가지고 있다. 현실적인 환경에도 불구하고 마을 주민들은 그들의 지역 조경활동으로 농업을 계속하고 있다.

이 논문은 조경 체계 분석과 민족지학적인 방법으로 예로부터 전해 내려오는 마을의 지리적, 지질학의 관한 정원에 대해 배우고 설명한다. 이 마을

주민들의 조경에 대한 인식과 현재 전통적으로 잘 알려진 정원 방법을 민족 식물학적, 민족지학상의 방법으로 이용된다.

또한 이 논문에서는 개미마을 주민들의 조경에 토양, 지형적 특색, 계절과 식물을 증거를 들어가며 보여주고 있다. 더 나아가 부지의 철저한 분석으로 조경의 실질적인 방법을 입증함을 민족지학적 방법으로 담고 있다.

**핵심어 :** 이주, 한국전쟁, 전통 지식, 서울, 조경설계 되지 않은 일반주택 양식

## Abstract (English)

Mass migration has been a major global phenomenon since 1945, only recently starting to slow-down or even reverse the trends. The results of war, economics, globalization and technology influenced masses of people across border-lines and out of the rural and into the urban. Korea is no exception. A result of the June 25<sup>th</sup> War, or Korean War, along with rapid industrial changes in the urban centers was an influx of many rural and agricultural people, a shift in landscapes. This major influx of mostly economically disadvantaged refugees into the already crowded city of Seoul precipitated the vernacular formation of urban-maeuls, or villages, on many of the uninhabited mountainsides in the city and periphery. The village called “Kaemi-Maeul” is one of these villages, or maeuls. Compactly tucked into a ravine on Inwangsan Mountain, in Hongjae-dong, Soedaemun-gu, Seoul, the village is an assemblage of small houses and gardens, a rural oasis within a megapolis.

The village residents, being primarily war refugees or their descendants come from different landscapes and have a different landscape knowledge from memory. Though these villages are idealized for their quaint and picturesque qualities, the particular quality these villages have is gardening know-how in a marginal situation. Kaemi-Maeul is usually also a place of limited space in an extreme environment. Despite this environmental reality the village residents continue on with agricultural practices situated to their local landscape.

This thesis uses a combination of landscape system analysis and ethnographic methods to learn and explain this gardening “folk know-how” in terms of the village’s geographic and geologic construct. Using an ethnobotanic and ethnographic method the

residents' perceptions of their landscapes of memory and present are elucidated and their traditional gardening knowledge is understood.

The residents in the village demonstrate an intimate understanding of their landscape and environment based on soil, topography, seasons and plants. Furthermore, the ethnographic methods employed in the thesis combined with landscape systems analysis proved to be an effective tool for landscape architecture in conducting a thorough analysis of a site.

**Keywords: Migration, Korean War, Folk Knowledge, Seoul, Vernacular Spaces**

## Notes on Translation & Characters

All Korean documents, whether interview transcripts, research sources or other materials are translated by the author. The author achieved a Test of Korean Proficiency Level III score in 2014 and since then has continuously studied the Korean language and employed it in daily life.

All titles are provided in their original language, if Korean they are translated into the nearest or most sensible English equivalent. If the source was in Korean the information is paraphrased into English. This thesis is written in English, though for some interview transcripts the original Korean is documented then translated into English.

Where necessary the Chinese characters are employed along with the Korean and then English-Romanization for certain place names and specific terms in the following format.

**인왕산 (仁王山), Inwang-san Mountain.**

All English translations of place names and important historical information follows the guidelines of the Korean Ministry of Tourism API dictionary used by translators for place names into various other languages. See the following,

<https://api.visitkorea.or.kr/search/tourTermsList.do>

# Chapter One

## 1.1 Ghosts, Memories & the Garden

*“We are all the children of our landscapes.” – from Justine by William Durrell*

Ghosts and thoughts are pretty much the same thing; both exist in a person’s head. The difference between the two is one is real and one is not. One vanishes at some point, the former never existed in the first place. Though, sometimes a thought can haunt. It becomes a lurking but never fully seen specter that waits in the dark-shadows of the gray matter, creeping out at night when the lights are low and the mind has time to roam the infinite expanse within the cranial sphere. No other piece of writing or literature has had such an impact on the researcher as this single quote. It is the philosophical driver behind this thesis. Where, and what is (are) your landscape(s)? Our landscape(s), whether of memory, of present, or imagination or longing, influence our identities; the *who* and more importantly *how* we are. Our environs do not determine our future, they do influence. We also influence, very directly, our environments in return. It is a two-way relationship. The *how we are*, is an intrinsic function of the *where and who we are*. That is the essence of the quote.

Gardening is an act of influencing and being influenced by the landscape. A gardener acts on the earth provided to them, with the materials and earth available, within the landscape. The relationship between the landscape, the garden and the gardener is one that evolves over time. Like a good marriage, what starts as idealistic romance and love,

matures into a deeper understanding, a relationship based on respect and lots of patience. That being said, just because a gardener is provided with their lot does not mean that they are limited by the constraints of the soil, water and climate that forms the landscape where their garden lay. Human ingenuity and curiosity lead to improvisations and even augmentations, also in the land as well. Thus a gardener can employ any number of tricks, methods, or traditions to improve their lot or amend it to their particular needs, to an extent, in so much as the landscape affords. This then becomes a life-support system, one where the human needs are met as a sort of balance between the nature of a landscape and the limits that it affords to the gardener to attain their optimal yield. This optimization is not possible without an intimate relationship, or understanding, of the landscape, by the gardener. It is a type of literacy. It is gardeners, of any degree, that develop such an understanding of place, process and function in a landscape. They do so through their annual experiment, the garden. To what extent they develop that understanding is related to what extent they garden, thus being influenced and influencing the landscape where they live.

It took five years for the wraith-of-a-thought to finally be exorcised. This ghost of a thought constantly bouncing back and forth; a never ending game of conscious and subconscious pong between my paddle ears. Sometimes it takes a bit of time to arrive at a point. In the end it is an exorcism in the form of a thesis/story. This is the story of Kaemi-Maeul, or “Ant-Village”, and the landscapes of the peoples’ past and their present and how all these stories both human and non-human combine to tell a larger story of how a people live in a place and a place lives. It is a landscape ethnography.



## 1.2 A Landscape “Ethnographed”

*“The Whole is Something Else Than the Sum of its Parts” – Koffka*

The term landscape ethnography causes some eyebrows to rise and foreheads to show sedimented layers of worry. Years of words compacting in fixed combinations makes it hard to hear them in a new way. A justifiable reaction, how can a landscape be ethnograph-ed? The term ethnography comes from Greek *ethnos* – people, folk, and *graphy* – for recording, writing and processing. It is a scientific method to used to describe cultures and people, a sub-discipline of anthropology (Collins English Dictionary, 2016). How does this apply to a geological and cultural structure and process, the landscape? The term is most prominently used in Laura Ogden’s 2011 Swamplife: People, Gators, and Mangroves Entangled in the Everglades, though it does show up earlier in Ami Ross’ 2008 thesis Choctaw in Alabama: Remote Sensing and Landscape Ethnography, it is with Ogden that the term gains a bit of prominence in the field of anthropology. Though she is not the first she is the most widely known. The interest in landscape by anthropologists has a long history. Early American anthropologists were focusing on the spatial qualities of place and meaning as early as the late 1880s (Guildi, 2013). The term “Landscape Ethnography” is first used by Hirsch and O’Hanlon eds., in their 1995 The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space. The book collects a series of articles by anthropologists that focus on the relation between a people and their culture. However their work is criticized in that it does not specifically define landscape as a concept and thus does not lend itself to the full potential as a paradigm for viewing a culture and its environment

(Lawrence-Zuniga, 1996). She (Ogden) uses the term “landscape ethnography” as a means to identify a new practice that “is attentive to the ways in which our relations with non-humans produce what it means to be human.” She further goes on to describe “...an ethnographic practice that is accountable to the asymmetrical relations of our collective lives. Landscapes – whether swamps, cities or farmlands – are asymmetrical relations among humans and non-humans” (Ogden, 2011, pp. 28-29). Here ethnographic practice is not just of one that documents a certain group’s lifestyle within their environment as is the common practice in ethnography. She extends the descriptive power of ethnography to describe the “multi-species collective” that is the landscape. Swamplife tells a story of the knot-rooted relationship between alligators, hunter-poachers, First Nations peoples, moonshiners, lawmen and government policy and the ecological changes in the dense swamps of the Florida Everglades. It uses an anthropological approach to understand the complexity of human and non-human agency in the landscape. Her ‘ethnos’ here is not just the alligator poachers, the Seminoles and the law enforcement officers in the Everglades, it *is* the Everglades. It is this descriptive potency that makes ethnography an alluring tool for many disciplines. Ethnography’s ability to succinctly explain complex social and cultural realities in an understandable manner makes it practical for use in geographic research, most notably environmental geography. Where a statistical data set or pixels on a screen analysed through a filter algorithm provide detailed but narrow information on phenomena, or verify a certain hypothesis, ethnography provides a methodology that, “allows for showing and explaining complexity, tracing connections between people and environments and working across scales” (Martin & Pavlovskaya, 2009, pp. 371-375). This makes ethnography even more useful in transmitting this qualitative information to larger

audiences and having a meaningful impact on the larger society. Though Ogden is not the first to use the term landscape ethnography, she does define it in a more narrow frame and it is through that framing that the term landscape becomes useful for being “ethnograph-ed.”

Ethnography is now employed in an expanded field, breaching the disciplinary boundaries of pure anthropological research. It can be found in fields such as geography and many other social sciences that require a qualitative approach to understanding complex relationships at varying scales, from small site to landscape regional scale (Martin & Pavlovskaya, 2009, p. 372). The ethnographic approach to understanding the complex associations between place and practice of a people also is being employed in our closest allied field, architecture. Professor Galen Cranz of U.C Berkeley’s School of Environmental Design, has for over thirty years applied ethnographic methods to design research and practice in architecture. Her research focuses on “how [do we] measure the relationship between humans and their environments?” In her forward for Revisiting “Social Factors”: Advancing Research in People and Place, she discusses the role of social science in architectural practice and research. Its usefulness in architecture is found in the ability to take the point of view of the “other” or user of a space or environment. It also requires the researcher or practitioner to listen carefully and creatively, which is not a skill often taught in the design professions. Furthermore, the quantitative approach to understanding is not always applicable, especially when speaking of space. Statistical correlations do not always provide the whole picture. What may be true may not be valid nor reliable. She provides the argument of a space that is meant to be community, but what does community mean? Without this understanding the designers “claims can be no more than wishful thinking, ideological propaganda, or current fashion in architectural thought

and discourse” (Cranz, 2015, pp. xi-xxi). She cites the inductive, rather than deductive, ability to understand a situation without first stating a hypothesis. In fact, ethnography follows a notably different approach to gaining knowledge about a subject through the process of discovery. A Bayesian progression, the hypothesis is constantly updated as new information is added to the equation. There is no static experiment, just a flow of knowledge. There is no attempt to find a causal relationship between factors rather “co-producer, product relationships” through the collection of large amount of data that are later synthesized and analyzed to find a larger generality from which a hypothesis may then form (Pavlidis & Cranz, 2011, pp. 1-19). Her teaching methods include a full studio course in using ethnographic methods for use in a “sited” micro-culture. She emphasizes the difference between environmental designers and social scientists regarding how the environment or “site” is viewed, with the former placing a stronger emphasis on the environment. It is designers that look to understand the interaction between site and social activity. Ethnography is a method to better understand and also explain this relationship (Cranz, Morhayim, Lindsay, & Sagan, 2014).

The simple way to explain landscape ethnography is as such: landscape ethnography explains a people and their reasons for interacting with the landscape, which results in their landscape making, while also taking into account the other non-human actors that are a part of the landscape.

Of all the tectonic design professions landscape architecture is best suited to employ ethnographic methods for both research and design practice. Landscape architecture, as all other design professions uses various forms of media, mostly visual to express an idea about a place, whether its current condition or potential future. Landscape

architecture is a normative process. Our profession, also operates in an expanded field and a larger scale. Our projects no longer are confined to courtyards, plazas and gardens. This increased scale of operation requires new methods and approaches to ensure a proper realization of our efforts. The scale is larger as is the room for, and size of, error. Brian Davis and Thomas Oles eloquently summarize the current trajectory of the profession in their Places Journal article, *The case for a new landscape science*. The authors highlight many prominent practitioners and their multi-disciplinary syncretic approach to shaping the environment drawing from fields such as physics, biology and other pure and applied scientific discourses. They argue, though, contemporary landscape architecture must go further and adopt the term *landscape science*, using the term science in its broadest sense. Quoting Karl Marx, “all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided” they argue that landscape is not just “...surface; it cannot be defined and understood by outward appearance alone. Landscape science will fundamentally endeavor to investigate the difference between surface and substance, or in Marx’s words, appearance and essence.” Their article argues that a new landscape practice should combine methods from a range of practices of those including sociology. They also succinctly denounce the one-sided meaning of the term science, going beyond just a “cold pursuit of quantifiable phenomena and material effects, devoid of creativity and divorced from artistic production.” They define science as “a branch of knowledge or study dealing with a body of facts or truths systematically arranged and showing the operation of general laws; knowledge gained by systematic study.” Ethnography is a humanities discipline that employs a scientific method to gain knowledge through a systematic study of peoples’ stories. The role ethnography could play in landscape architecture, or landscape science,

are many. It allows us to understand the deeper relationship of both meaning and process for a peoples and their environment or landscape within our time and place in history. Ethnography is also rooted within a certain time-frame and period, thus the research process and result is shaped by our morals and values. Our subjective biases are an inherent part of the study. This framing allows for a historical documentation in a sense, science is no with out values. Lastly, the landscape is more than just a place of present conditions as well, it is also a place of memories, and a place shaped by memories. The quote at the beginning of this chapter hints at that relationship. Refugees flee from conflict to newer and hopefully safer lands. Currently it is Syria; this story though is about another displaced persons. This story is about the landscapes of displaced persons from the June 25th War, or Korean War and their current landscape in the urban village of Kaemi-Maeul, in Seoul, Korea.

### **1.3 Literature Review & Research Purposes**

*“Everybody needs his memories. They keep the wolf of insignificance from the door.” –*

*Saul Bellow*

At the time of writing human society faces a multitude of complex crises that span the globe and affect nearly all countries and peoples. Whether global warming, political strife, economic inequality and demographic decline, in today’s world nothing is totally isolated, there are few real islands left. Of one such issue is the never-ending quagmire that is the Levant, with the Syrian Civil War, 4,803,634 persons as of April, 2016 are registered as refugees (UNHRC, 2016). With these persons displaced from their homes,

scattered from Jordan, Turkey, Egypt to England and even Canada, with no promise of return, what is there to do for these people now residing as strangers in a strange land?

Korea, much like the rest of the OECD nations has a near flat-line birth-rate and is on a steady trend towards population decline. There will be more people in diapers over the age of 60 than under 6 months in Korea in the very near future. Some bleak-minded demographers predict the end of the Korean people within the distant future (Jun, 2014). Whether or not Korean people as an ethnic group and political state exists in the future is left for the demographers, but a majority of the population will not be alive, and their sun is setting fast. The same issues apply in Japan. The sun may be setting on these two countries. At the same time rapid economic prosperity and urban development have altered Korea in a short period. Younger generations want the convenience and the technological life the city affords. The social mobility has improved much in Korea, the rural migrants have adapted well to their new landscapes and mostly forgotten their old ones (Kwan & Kwang, 1990). With the passing of this generation much experience based knowledge and vernacular ways of doing things will be lost forever if not recorded. If not for the experience that could be lost, the “landscape identity” of such places is also a pertinent topic for recording. As Korea yearns for international spotlight attention and attempts to be a ‘global’ nation, it risks forgetting important local scale stuff for the sake of a Zaha Hadid spaceship-esque building next to the ancient Eastern Gate of Seoul. K-Pop and manufactured to be obsolete electronics is not the best Korea has to offer, there is real substance on the Han Peninsula. That substance lays in the ground and comes from the ground. Korea has garden and agricultural know-how dating back centuries but also recent inventiveness, found in its urban centers. In places like Kaemi-Maeul.

Lastly, of recent hype in many disciplines that deal with all things urban and environment is the idea of city based agriculture. Whether or not this fashion becomes tradition is still of much debate, however if such a topic is to be researched why not start at a place that actually does agriculture in the city? Kaemi-Maeul is a gardening power-house located on the fringes of the city. Much like other urban villages, its wealth and abundance stems from the agricultural roots of the early settlers in these villages. Kaemi-Maeul offers pertinent lessons for contemporary issues, minus any technological folly or complex policy. Kaemi-Maeul's lessons are ultimately basic and based on ancient technology, seeds, soil, watering, weeding and then waiting.

There is no shortage of research on urban villages in Seoul and other major Korean cities. There is no shortage of research on displaced peoples and the Korean War. There is no shortage of ethnobotanical research in Korea, there is no shortage of ethnographic research in Korea. There is a shortage of research on the landscapes of these villages and the landscapes of memory of the people who live in them. The village is still not understood within a landscape idea. This leaves a large gap within the current research on urban villages in Korea, which are increasingly grabbing the public interest lately.<sup>2</sup> Currently there is an increasing interest in the idea of the urban village, especially within Seoul. A major chunk of this research is with the intent of making a better urban development or settlement with the veneer of the maeul-feel. Acknowledging that the current urban development pattern and housing types in Korea do not lead to strong community or healthy living lifestyles, much research focuses on the spatial aspect of the

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<sup>2</sup> There are increasing amounts of blogs, news articles and books being written on these villages in Seoul. Most articles simply cover socio-political topics or are nothing more than self-agrandizement in a digital era. The author could find none at the time of publication that discuss the landscape idea or gardens of such villages.



maeul. The economic side of this research is self-evident. Moon Ji-Won's 2008 *Journal of the Korean Housing Association's* article "Analysis of the Spatial Structure of Traditional Villages for Revitalization of the Community in Urban Villages" makes this abundantly clear. We can sell more houses if they look like a maeul. Many consumers want the maeul feel, an aesthetic quality. The "disneyfication" of community planning in Korea takes on a yesteryear feel (Ji-Won, Kim, & Ha, 2008, pp. 85-93).

There is an ample amount of historical, sociological, anthropological and architectural research on these villages, of them Kaemi-Maeul prominently featured. Much of the research focuses on spatial analysis and formation of the village as a vernacular and self-organized space, referred to as "spontaneous." I'd argue with further investigation Kim Hae-Hwan would discover nothing is random. Gardens are a careful construct and tedious effort. There is as of yet no research to be found on the garden practices and agricultural/ botanical/ ecological/ landscape knowledge of the residents within these maeuls. Kim's thesis, Study on the Spatial Composition of the Spontaneous Hill Area Settlement: Case Study of Gaemi-Maeul, Hongje-dong, Seoul (2012) does briefly address the spatial dimensions and apparent reasons for the house gardens in the village but with no explanation of them, just metrics and obvious reasons for why these gardens exist where they do; it is the left-over space available. There is a brief mention of the plants grown with the highest frequency being cabbage (what appears to be nappa), 배추, *Brassica campestris* ssp. *pekinensis*, Chinese radish, 무, *Raphanus sativus* var. *hortensis* for. *acanthiformis* Makino, scallions, 파, *Allium fistulosum* L, and red pepper, 고추, *Capsicum annuum*,

though a glaring omission of the two most obviously abundant plants the common pumpkin, 호박, *Cucurbita spp.*, and architecturally prominent gourd, 조롱박/호리병박, *Lagenaria siceraria* var. *gourda*. Though a clear mapping of the major garden spaces is documented, no further information is provided (김해환, 2012, 페이지: 42-46). Other research dealing with gardens and maeuls focuses only on the quantifiable data such as plant composition, form and structure. Though employing a survey method for gaining data, there is still little explanation of the larger picture, as to how they garden in the village, and what they know about their larger landscape. The research does address how the garden structure changes as time progressed, however their research aim was for the purpose of historical reconstruction of “traditional” gardens, sic for wealthy nobles of long ago (ParkJung & LeeWon Ho, 2005, 페이지: 37-49). Other research on detached house gardens, though in Gwangju and not specifically city mauels, that employed ethnographic methods, focuses only the resident’s perceptions of garden benefits and maintenance difficulty in an urban setting (조동, 기수란, 김근호, 2007, 페이지: 54-65). The most ethnographic approach to understanding Kaemi-Maeul is in Kang San-Ho’s master thesis, A Strategy for Making a Healthy Neighborhood in a Deteriorated Low-Rise Housing Area: The Case of Kaemi Village at Hongje-Dong at Seodaemun-gu, in Seoul (2013). The thesis research made use of several surveys, site visits and informal interviews that had respondents provide their perceptions on issues of safety, hygiene and facilities in the village. Kang was also lucky to be able to join in 서대문 마을 만들기 주민 아카데미, or the “Seodaemun-gu Citizen’s

Village-Making Academy”, which was run by the district office as a community participatory event in planning and development. The “academy” offered counseling in political engagement and economic development as well as ways to improve their immediate residences and living conditions and engage in the planning decision making process for their area. This event, held from the months of September to October, bi-weekly for four sessions allowed a structured and privileged access to a large segment of the village. Though Kang’s research does document the major garden areas and house gardens in the village and provide an anecdotal testimony of the community importance of the garden in village communal life, there is still no research specifically on gardening and the knowledge associated with working in their landscapes (강선호, 2013, 페이지: 57-67).

More in-depth ethnographic research into urban maeuls in Seoul is found in the book

도시마을의 민속문화 Urban Villages Folk Culture (2014). Edited by 정형호, Chung

Hyung-Ho, it provides a clear picture of the rural and agrarian roots of migrants either fleeing war-zones or economic conditions in the country side. Starting after the June 25th war and the rapid economic and industrial development that occurred from the 1960’s onward. The book has a picture on page 124 typical of nearly any of the urban maeuls in Seoul, an informal public space being used for gardening purposes. The diverse functions of the maeul spaces in daily life is explained as a place of multiple uses, gardening, children playing, information exchange, and social activity. The chapter author, Kwan Hyuk-Hee, describes this as the “folk-life” of the maeul. He also stresses the perilous future facing these maeuls, be it gentrification or simple demographics of aging. These maeuls are an integral part of the Korean identity and environment in Seoul and other cities and the

residents in the villages represent an important, and often dismissed, segment of the Korean people (관혁희, 2014, 페이지: 117-129). Yet, despite all this realization of the importance of maeuls in both historical and contemporary urban life the research on these residents' gardening (sic landscape) understanding is nearly non-existent or simply skirted around. As if gardening is easy.

This brings us to the major point of this research project. Seoul's maeuls are more than seed banks for ethnobotanical studies on the genetic variances of species per district, they are safety deposit boxes of "folk know-how." Of this know-how perhaps the most valuable is the ability to make the land produce something life sustaining; the gardening know-how. A landscape is a life support system, not just for a village. The garden as a microcosm of the landscape still provides the best in-vitro and in-vivo way to experiment and understand the larger landscape. All the researchers stress the uncertain future of these maeuls, Kaemi-Maeul being no exception. This makes it all the more pressing to preserve this knowledge of gardening on the slopes, or rather, gardening using materials and local passed down traditions of gardening management in a sub-optimal environment, for future generations. Gardening is a practice that can not be learned or simply taught through data, studying books and putting seeds in the grounds and expecting the best. Gardening is an experiential learning process. The latin phrase *Sentatae manuum proderimus*, or, "we learn by doing with our hands", applies here. The people of Kaemi-Maeul have toiled much in the dirt with their hands and learned and are learning in the process. People can not survive on beans alone. It was in one of my initial interviews where a key informant, I will call Mr. Yun, 윤 O 석 씨, stated while sitting on the floor, relaxed and back propped against the

wall, smoking with a glimmer and a smirk; his eyes communicated more than his words, he sized my character up in one-second, an ability only gained with years, if ever. “Today young people don’t know this stuff, how to garden. That’s why he’s [referring to me] here, he want’s to learn to garden<sup>3</sup>.” The maeul gardens provide a variety of plants for both food and material uses, and variety is a tough objective to achieve in even the best of conditions. All research on the urban maeuls emphatically distress the role of gentrification and demographics on the future of the maeuls in Seoul. In a few years the landscape understanding and practices stored in these places could be lost forever. There is a current expediency to collect as much information and stories on gardening in such places before it is lost to time and economics. Furthermore, this project also allows for the experimentation with new methods and approaches to landscape understanding in our discipline.

As for our discipline of landscape architecture, ethnography is a writing culture, though current trends in ethnographic methods employ a range of media techniques such as film, photo, audio and interactive media such as the work done by Harvard’s Sensory Ethnography Lab [SEL], where scholars work cross disciplinarily to;

*“promotes[s] innovative combinations of aesthetics and ethnography. It uses analog and digital media to explore the aesthetics and ontology of the natural and unnatural world. Harnessing perspectives drawn from the arts, the social and natural sciences, and the humanities, the SEL encourages attention to the many dimensions of the world, both animate and inanimate, that may only with difficulty, if it all, be rendered with propositional prose.” (Sensory Ethnography Lab, 2010).*

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<sup>3</sup> “요즘에 사람들 이런건 몰라, 그 왜 이 학생 왔구나, 정원 키우는 건 배오고 싶어서” Translated by author, from an interview on March 3rd, 2016.

The basic end product of ethnography is still a written prose. A picture, or now a days a moving image, may be worth a thousand words but a thousand words sinks in the psyche deeper<sup>4</sup>. When we read we have to digest and process the information. Like the landscape, it is a slow and ultimately a deeper process. And speaking of process, the ethnographic process is both a method of research and product. It is through this method that accurate and credible stories are told within the “local context” of the research subjects (Fetterman, 2010). If we are to “ethnograph” the landscape, that is tell a complete and true story about a place that provides the emic, or insider, knowledge about a landscape, we can not rely on sections, plans and elevations and other two-dimensional mapping processes alone, we will need something more, a hybrid between our traditional practice and something from another discipline, ethnography.

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<sup>4</sup> Carl Sagan “What an astonishing thing a book is.” The video screen may not necessarily be the cause of rot in the gray-matter but reading is proven to have lasting benefits, from <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/does-tv-rot-your-brain/>.

## Chapter 2

### **2.1 Methods & Process: A Combination in Ethnobotany, Ethnography & Landscape Systems Analysis**

Landscape and ethnography operate over long periods of time. This thesis project begins in August of 2015, and ends in June of 2016. Whether a landscape is used for agricultural purposes or not, growing vegetables or simply the fall of leaves and the buds and blooms of spring, it occurs in a cycle. Korea has four seasons. To gather a more complete “graphy” of the landscape’s ethnos a full cycle is needed. To understand both a landscape or an ethnographic project, to perceive both, for both to be of material and intellectual use, a long period of time is required to observe and record the noticeable and significant processes and rituals found in a landscape and culture. A landscape changes over time, be it seasonal or geological, a culture as well, both with successive generations and changing mores. Despite the long trudge and eventual changes with time, within time, there are recordable patterns and rhythms to a landscape and a culture. It is these everyday minutiae and mundane happens that go on to make the sum of the parts something difference, but in themselves are often not perceptible or overlooked. This is where the landscape mindset and ethnography can overlap. Both require deep understanding of places

spread out over long periods of time. Both require a rendering of these phenomena that makes them perceptible to the viewer, either in writing or in drawing, often both.

Robert McFarlane's 2015 Newstatesman piece, *Why we need nature writing*, broadly summarizes the current golden age of "nature writing" arising in the United Kingdom as well across the pond in North America. He starts the essay discussing Gregory Bateson's 1972 opus literati, Steps to an Ecology of Mind. He credits Bateson's work with influencing a range of fields including anthropology and as being an influence on the environmentalist movement. "We are not," he warned, "outside the ecology for which we plan" McFarlane further in his article states, "Literature has the ability to change us for good, in both senses of the phrase. Powerful writing can revise our ethical relations with the natural world, shaping our place consciousness and our place conscience" and "Yet it is clear that in Britain we are living through a golden age of literature that explores relations between selfhood, landscape and ethics and addresses what Mabey has described as the 'growing fault line in the way we perceive and talk about nature' (McFarlane, 2015). Within the broader culture, at least the literate and engaged in the west, there is a renewed interest in who we are, were, and where we are and how that is, the we in the landscape has begun to permeate into the larger populous, with the help of writing, much like early Dutch landscape painters did in their time and place. It is literature and art that are driving the change and influencing a more conscious society. Literature of late, both fiction or non-fiction such as Rick Bass' *All The Land to Hold Us*, or Helen McDonald's *H is for Hawk*, has produced books that are particularly related to the specific landscapes and people they are set in, be it Bass' rural Texas of the 1970s or McDonald's own life in today's United



Kingdom. A common theme in these books is they are all somewhat ethnographic and landscape at the same time. This makes for an interesting new trajectory in communicating our natural world in a way that is both meaningful and understandable to the non-professional. Free from disciplinary jargon, away with boring, dry academic prose meant for peer-review, in-line with an aesthetic that awakens more than the mind but also the soul to the wonder of creation. We need to proselytize not require a shibboleth to enter the garden. Here is an opportune niche for the landscape architect to have an even larger impact on society, combining both skills in visual representation and writing to communicate a more-than-human ecology of the landscape, such those found in the ecologist Lyn Baldwin's Terrain.org's article *Finding community through fieldwork*, where she uses both text and sketching to communicate the intricate life of the quadrants she observes and her place in them (Baldwin, 2015). An important aspect of this method, much like the ethnographic method is the process of writing and reading. Communication beyond the sound-bite, flash-in-the-screen, is an integral part of this method. The method is the medium.

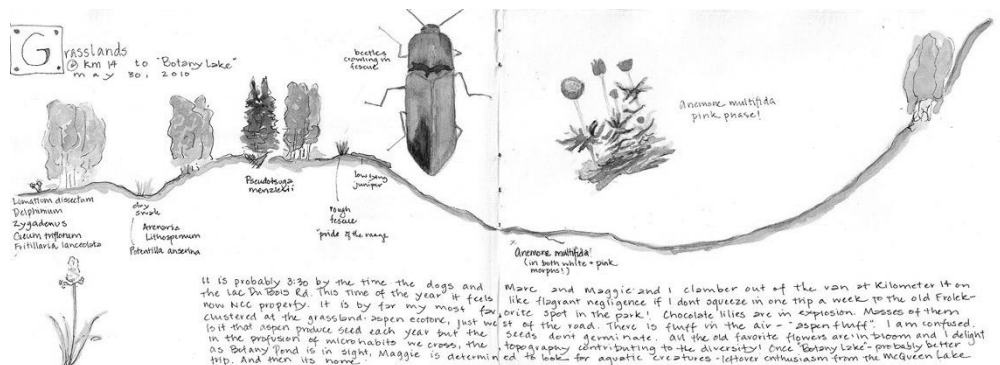


Figure 2.1: Sketch of ecological quadrant by Lyn Baldwin in her field notes.

## **2.2 Methods: Ethnobotanical & The Landscape System**

A standard ethnographic method nor a standard landscape study method is sufficient to do a landscape ethnography. Laura Ogden's attempt in *Swamplife* still maintains a strictly anthropological approach in her book, though providing a detailed history on the lives of alligator poachers in the Florida everglades, she does not paint a full ecological picture of their landscapes and their relationship to it. She blends traditional knowledge of landscape from the various actors and what is recorded or communicated, except for personal histories, are hunting methods and historical context of human induced ecological changes in the landscape. Though she frames the landscape in a "more-than-human" view, she does not provide much information on the non-human and abiotic actors, alligators aside, in the everglade landscape or swamp-landscape. She doesn't do a full landscape system analysis. This is understandable as her background is in anthropology and not landscape or ecology. Yet she uses the term landscape and defines it to fit her needs. This is the important contribution. Now the term is more widely disseminated, beyond anthropology and we have a clearer definition with which to use the term as a method in research.

If ethnography is post-disciplinary, no longer being only practiced by anthropologists, landscape is now more common than ever (Lindsey, 2016). Landscape can employ ethnography in combination with our current kit of tools, and this project is in one part an attempt at devising a methodology for a collection of stories, a landscape and a larger understanding of the complexity in the environment. The method combines a peppering of tools from ethnobotany, cultural geography, landscape architecture and

traditional ethnography. It is in this synthesized method that a more detailed landscape story is composed. Ethnobotanical methods start with an understanding of the site, a site assessment. Most ethnobotanical research projects first require understanding the local place in physical and geographical terms, political boundaries, topography, climate, land cover, geology, soil, vegetation etc.; a thorough site analysis is the beginning point for any rigorous ethnobotanical research (Martin, 1995). This sounds much like a landscape system analysis. The landscape system is defined by soil and the soil map is the start of the analysis. Soil maps offer useful information for ecological and landscape analysis as they relate directly to geology and topography and land use (Hudson, 1992). It is from the soil-landscape unit “a recognizable form and shape on the surface of the earth” that we can analyze the larger landscape. The site sits on a specific soil-landscape unit or units and this in turn influences to a degree the vegetation, uses and built environment of the site (Kuitert, 2013a). The first step in this research is understanding the soil-landscape unit of Kaemi-Maeul and in what larger topographical landscape unit the village sits and how this relates to the larger picture of the village’s natural and human landscape.

The second step in the research process is a detailed historical study, both human and geographic. Kuitert uses historical mapping and geo-history map overlay to understand Seoul in terms of soil mapping and historical mapping. He defines the city as a landscape system, “that is, pattern, structure, function and process of soil, water, vegetation and human settlement. ‘Landscape’, is not regarded as a foundation for human settlement but as a system in movement and in process. From a human point of view, the process of settlement then reflect in historicity, making the city [here a village in the city] into the story of its place” (Kuitert, 2013b). These two mapping methods show how the village

works and changes within the larger landscape as a response to both the physical environment and human history in Seoul. Using map overlay in both soil and geo-history for the village we see the physical changes in the environment. This mapping process is combined with historical, demographic and environmental data to present the base from which the larger and equally important mapping, the ethnographic, begins.

## **2.3 Methods: Ethnography**

The landscape is defined here by soil, and from soil cometh plants. People in many ways are also defined by the soil and by growing plants people in turn define the soil. That is where ethnobotany is useful for understanding Kaemi-Maeul as an ethnographic landscape. Many of the villagers of Kaemi-Maeul part-take in some form of gardening activity in or near their houses and yards. The ethnobotanic method provides a way to record their gardening knowledge and in general their larger landscape learning. This method used in this thesis is standard of ethnobotanical practices. I devised the method from both Cotton and Martin's books respectively. It combines both quantitative and qualitative data. These steps are as follows;

- The physical and historical analysis (aforementioned)
- The collection of voucher specimens (both photographic, drawn and physical)
- The collection of personal testimonies from research participants (plant growing practices) via both organized survey and semi-structured interviews.

- Multimedia observations, photographic, video and audio of gardening
- Participant based observation (actually gardening with residents in situ)
- Cross referencing obtained data with existing ethnobotanical research in Korea and validity testing from quantitative data.

The standard ethnographic methods used in this project provide insight into the landscapes of memory. As many of the village residents are displaced persons or from rural agricultural areas in Korea, they have memories of other landscapes as well as experiences and practices brought to a new landscape, the urban maeul. Their adaptations to new surroundings and experience with poverty leads to indigenous and local based solutions to environmental problems within the means, both physical and fiscal, available to them. This is a major part of the traditional or “folk life” of the village. Therefore, detailed personal histories of places of birth, gardening learning and education are also used to provide a deeper understanding of the past and the present. This is also accomplished through the use of direct structured interviews and surveys as well as semi-structured interviews. The combination of ethnobotanical and ethnographic approaches allows for a more detailed rendering of their stories and the elucidation of the traditional ecological/botanical/landscape understanding and practice held by the residents, and how it relates to their personal and collective histories and present conditions.

Participant based research in gardening as an active learner provides an effective conduit to access the local practices and engage in it first hand. One of the main problems associated with any ethnographic research project is cultural-bias and the researcher’s subjective perception of the people in the study. No matter how much we immerse ourselves in the local context we still retain the social lens that we view the world through

(Martin 1995, 104). To get past this problem and further gather the important folk-knowhow, volunteering in gardening activity is noted for not only the active participation in learning but also being a conduit for gathering other non-gardening specific information, but equally vital. Flachs (2013) volunteered in community gardens in Cleveland, Ohio and through his efforts not only engaged in active garden learning but also endeared his informants even more so, gaining a deeper insight into the community. Through his active engagement he was invited to other group activities by the surrounding community where the gardens were located. This is an important part of the research method as it is sometimes the subtle information that is the most revealing about a certain topic.

The method, or process, much like the landscape, is both artifact and activity, ethnography is a discipline as well as a process, landscape is the same. The combination of both a landscape and ethnographic process leads to a deep reading in place and people.

It is also through the act of participating and interviewing that common themes and information is elucidated. Though the process is mostly unstructured, and it appears like nothing more than large amounts of unrelated data in the form of interviews and observations is amassed, upon examination we can form a clearer picture. Cary de Wit (2013) lays out a very detailed experience and also method for conducting interviews for sense of place from the perspective of a cultural geographer. His approach provides an apt study for this research project in that he also explains the ordeals of finding people to be in the research project as willing participants as well as how to get over being an “outsider.” He also stresses the importance of open-ended questions for obtaining much less biased and more objective, and ultimately a fuller understanding of the mind and heart of the research participant (de Wit, 2013). Hammoudi (2009) documents his experience in

conducting ethnographic research at Mecca during Hajj. He writes the “experience” is the act of the ethnographer meeting with people and engaging in their ritual (Hammoudi 2009, 48-49). His ritual of study was a pilgrimage, mine is the act of gardening in one particular village in Seoul.

This thesis uses a combination of methods, from structured ethnobotanical collecting and surveying, a formal landscape system analysis based on the soil-landscape unit of the area, and ultimately a traditional ethnographic approach. The landscape is complex, so is a landscape ethnography. It takes a tool-kit not just a tool to accomplish the task.

## **2.4 Methods: The Combination Explained in Detail**

Thus far I’ve explained the theoretical basis and approach of the methods but what is still not clear is the application of the combination of ethnobotany, ethnography and landscape analysis as an integrated process. Also, since the landscape is the thing being “ethnographed,” these methods are applied over a time span, the four seasons. This section explains the application of the methods in a chronological order so that specifically *how* the process leads to an ethnographic profile of a village based on its gardening activity and gardening knowledge can be understood. As previously stated this process starts in August.

# A Landscape Ethnography Method Flow Chart | 2-D

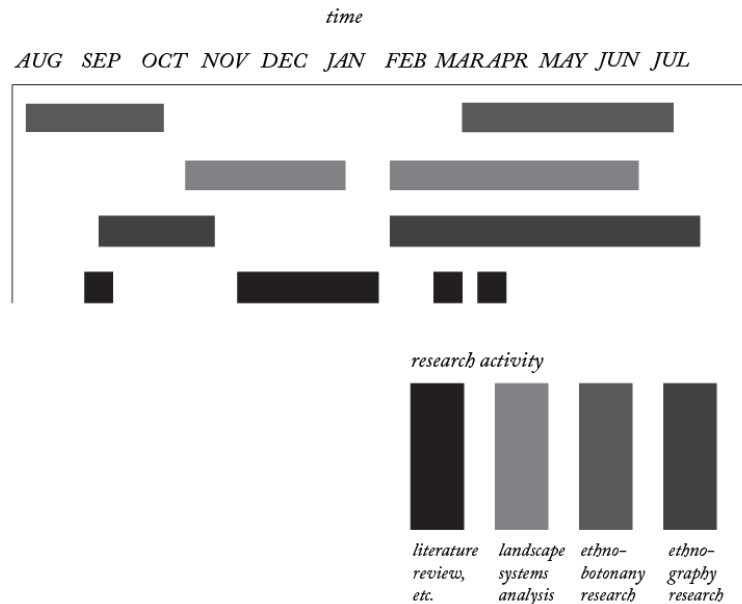


Figure 2-2: Timeline and process for the landscape ethnography of Kaemi-Maeul. .

Of course there is a preliminary period of site selection and background research not site specific involved, however for this section’s purpose this is omitted and not pertinent. The core of this method is based on the act of experiencing the site. The method starts at the end of summer and the beginning of fall, with site visits. Site visits were conducted from August 2015 to February 2016 on a bi-weekly basis at no fixed intervals. I would visit the village and observe noticeable changes in the gardens and surrounding landscape, documenting with both a camera, sketch-book and fieldnote writing. If I met a person engaged in some form of gardening activity, be it harvesting or planting or managing, I would informally ask a simple question such as, “what plant is this?” or “how does this grow?” with no real intent of gaining deep or specific knowledge. The act of asking a simple question is mostly, but not solely, to establish contact with a member of the



local population. As a non-Korean speaking in Korean there is always a certain sense of surprise and amazement that I can ask specific questions about things not related to directions or finding the bathroom. One such first encounter was with the owner of the tea-house, which I label as the Tea-House Garden, at the top of the village. It was in an early October visit, the weather still hot, that I took refuge under the shade of the bi-furcating gourd-vine and ordered an iced-tea. Sitting on this perch looking out at the expanse with the immediate village in foreground, Hongjae-dong in mid-ground and the summer haze of what must be Incheon in the far distance I was impressed by the scenic, absolutely landscape painting quality of this vista. It was in commenting to her that she had a great view and introducing myself as a student of Seoul National University, studying landscape architecture, we started talking, about plants. This is how I established one of my first research informants in the village. This is perhaps the most important aspect of the research method, the ability to speak with a degree of fluency to strangers in their own language. Though at the time I was not spending extended periods of time in the village, passing through and observing for an hour or so, it was through this regular process of simply being in the village at random times, and being seen in the village on more than one occasion that the residents slowly began to engage with me. I was no longer just a tourist. In fact, had I not one-week prior on a visit with my wife and daughter not spoken with an elderly woman who lives near the bus stop, but to this day is still not willing to participate, I would have never been introduced to the Tea-House Garden. The things that work as ice-breakers are surprising and important, be it my then two-year old Leah running up to stranger smiling, or a simple alcohol thermometer (to be discussed later).

There is much criticism of this method, mostly from those outside of anthropological disciplines. When the word ethnography is uttered to the non-practitioner it evokes an image of some 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropologist living on a remote Polynesian island, in the village, “going native.” Some even say that any ethnographic study must occur over long periods of time by a highly skilled scholar. Borneman and Hammoudi (2009) refute this critique by pointing out that often first encounters by inexperienced “ethnographers”, though lacking the time factor of the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideal, produce “...often more vivid and, though lacking temporal depth, often more filled with surprise...” Surprise is an important part of the process. As stated earlier it is an inductive logic not deductive. The learning is synchronous with doing the study. Citing the work of Sally Moore in Tanzania, they describe her findings as a result of her early naivety. Without any theoretical background or educational training in anthropology she undertook an ethnographic study of the land-use practices of the Chagga Tribal group in the socialist period of government. Much of the important information gathered in the research process is from non-fixed time frames and informal encounters with people and places in the village. The act of surprise plays an important role in the larger research method. The authors state that through the process of both planned and unplanned encounters unpredictable outcomes arise and these are often more informative than any planned formal interview. Furthermore, they open the door to the researcher to develop ongoing relationships (Borneman & Hammoudi 2009, 261-269). The large part of the beginning stages of such a study is simply to develop relationships and ultimately establish trust and interest in the project. This took me around seven full months to accomplish. In the winter it is hard to find people actively tending their gardens, let alone spending time outside their houses and the first contacts made don’t always

maintain. This was the case with two initial informants, who started off engaging well in the research but as the winter came were less available.

The above method explains the informal process of establishing connections and gathering informants, this is only one-half of the process. The other is a very direct and structured way via the old-fashioned letter and survey. By early January it was clear that for the thesis research to be of any success more informants would be needed and informally gathered information, though productive for leading in exciting directions and forming spontaneous connections, is not sufficient. Thus a formal letter with both the university's and college's logo along with the researcher's associated lab's logo was drafted. The letter, written in both Korean and English provided a formal introduction to the researcher and the thesis research project. It explained in one paragraph who I am, what I'm doing and how I will conduct the research. The letter contained all pertinent contact information and was verified by the researcher's wife's 88-year-old grandmother to be written in manner that was both polite and understandable to a person of her generation. (See Appendix A)

It was distributed on January 23, 2016 directly to the mailboxes in the maeul. A total of 50 were printed and canvassed throughout the maeul, placing it in houses that had obvious gardens and tenancy. There are many abandoned houses in Kaemi-Maeul.

One surprise encounter of the day was the large presence of volunteers distributing charcoal briquettes to residents in the village. It was through an informal conversation with one such volunteer that I gleamed more about the financial and demographic status of most of the maeul residents, beyond just literature and statistical data. The residents are still largely reliant on volunteers for delivering both heat and food in the winter. The ideal of

agrarian self-reliance came falling down in an instant. Nothing may conserve like poverty, no-one can conserve enough for a long Korean winter.

After the distribution of an introductory letter a formal survey was drafted. Thus far the method has relied solely on subjective information, all observed through the eyes of the researcher. Ethnobotany, being more established within the biological sciences, relies more on quantitative data and deductive reasoning than pure anthropology. A survey was created not specifically for quantifiable data with any statistical significance, but more so to establish a baseline from which the guiding hypothesis of the research could be verified. The population of the village hovers around 420 persons (강해환 2012), a sample of 40 surveys were distributed to houses selected based on initially observed gardens and activity from earlier site visits. The surveys (see appendix E) posed questions about the respondent's gardens gathering about current plant species, future plant species, garden location and size. It also gathered information about the respondent's place of birth, when and from whom they learned to garden and other garden information. The respondents were also asked to draw small maps of their garden in relation to their house. Of the 40 surveys distributed, with addressed postage-paid envelopes, only 13 returned. The surveys proved useful in discovering the common vegetables grown in the village, and making contact with ethnographic informants. The residents are mostly from rural origins, outside of Seoul, but not all learned to garden in their rural home landscapes from an early age. Some, whether moving into the maeul at a later date than the earlier first-generation settlers, or for other reasons, learned to garden from their neighbour, in Kaemi-Maeul, after they were well into adulthood. The initial speculation was that the residents were all primarily

of rural origin with learned gardening knowledge from an early age, at their pre-war homes. What became clear was the village itself was a place of sharing garden understanding and practices and learning for many of the people who lived there. Thus the formal survey provided insights that spontaneous encounters did not, it also was another way of gaining acceptance.

Though the survey was distributed with the intent of being mailed back to the university for analysis off-site, not enough were returning. With surveys in hand on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, the researcher went directly to the village and started cold calling, going door to door, while the last snow of the season conspired against me. The time of day proved difficult to get many willing participants, as it was around lunch time. It was one elderly woman at the seniors' centre that gave me a minute of her time and would be the catalyst for gaining deeper access to the village's gardens. It was through her invitation to return the following week for lunch at the centre that finally a breakthrough was reached. It was March 10<sup>th</sup> that the more direct and detailed encounters with village residents and discussions about their gardens began.

March 14<sup>th</sup> proved to be a pivotal day in the research process. It was this day where I took up my invitation to the Kyungrodan, a senior citizens' community centre, that also has two community gardens and a private garden at an adjacent house that also serves a community purpose (to be explained later). Here, with much candor and to my delight, I gained acceptance. I shared lunch and drinks with several of the village's more senior residents. It was through this meeting that more surveys were conducted but also informal conversations about their lives, thoughts on the place they lived and their gardens. It provided the start to an ongoing relationship. Starting on March 14<sup>th</sup>, I began making

regular scheduled visits for periods of three to four hours to Kaemi-Maeul, visiting the centre as well as the gardens selected for the study.

The regular site visits were conducted using an assortment of tools, some for specific data collection others for Trojan-horse ice-breakers. The fieldwork tool kit consists of a Nikon FM2 with iso100 film, a Sony Alpha digital camera, a Geotrax handheld GPS unit, a write-in-the-rain note book, a red alcohol thermometer, and a 50-meter measuring tape.



*Images 2-1-6: From Top Left to Right: Thermometer, 50 meter measuring tape, GPS unit, write-in-the-rain, Nikon FM-2 film camera. Sony Alpha NX-digital camera.*

The cameras were used for obvious documentation, and it is questionable why both a film and digital camera are required. Film still collects colour and light at a much deeper level than digital, and furthermore, there is an artistic aspect to this research. Sometimes film just captures the subtle information of emotion and atmosphere that a digital photo can never convey. The GPS unit is used for accurately demarcating the

location of gardens and their dimensions. Though an obvious redundancy, the use of such a technological instrument gave an air of scientific authority and gained the intrigue of passers byers and village residents. The 50-meter measuring tape was specifically for the meets and bounds of the gardens. The write-in-the-rain is a useful notepad for recoding the basic environmental data of the day plus for jottings that arise from informal interviews and chance observations. The most effective tool though proved to be my wife's little school thermometer. Taking regular soil temperature measures on each site visit was to check soil temperature and germination of seeds. Soil warming in the spring is an important part of growing in the summer and many gardeners in the village use various techniques to artificially raise the temperature of their garden's soil for faster growing. The act of sticking the thermometer in the ground would also become one of the most significant in the scientific method for this thesis. The thermometer is an ice-breaker.

Chance encounters, site observation, historical and existing literature research, structured interviews and surveys are all important parts of the method, but the key-stone of this research method arch is still semi-formal interviews and being engaged in the act of gardening with the residents. The seniors' centre is a valuable resource but relying on one set of informants and one garden is not sufficient to produce an accurate and honest portrayal of the maeul's gardens. Still more informants are needed. By doing such a queer act as penetrating the earth with a needle-prick of a thermometer, I was able to directly explain my research, when the garden owner or other person walking by, stopped and asked what on earth I was doing to their bit of earth. Ice forms at 0°C, a thermometer breaks the ice between strangers at 13°C, at least in Kaemi-Maeul at roughly 150 meters

above sea-level. How the thermodynamics of meeting people operates at other locations and altitudes; I have yet to experiment.

It follows from this initial bit of science theatre that my gardening education in Kaemi-Maeul begins. During the course of research, the author made regular visits at best once per-week to the village for impromptu garden chats, observations and hands-on experience in the gardens. A good method actor is never out of character. I also often brought small gifts of rice cake or other baked goods with me each time I visit the maeul. It is a small token of appreciation for their willingness to participate, a token that goes a long way. Small gestures opened many doors and ultimately gardens to me in the maeul.

All the while this process of speaking, gathering stories, knowledge and first hand experience in gardening is being conducted, there is still an ongoing landscape analysis. This consists of the previously mentioned soil-landscape unit analysis and potential vegetation postulations based on existing literature data. The ongoing analysis is the methodical observation, or close reading, of the site and documentation of the changes in the site over time. The landscape analysis does not end and then the ethnographic and ethnobotanic begins, rather all are synchronous. This process includes observing the soil in the gardens and in the villages for changes in texture, colour, temperature, moisture, etc. over time. The landscape system analysis also includes observing other plant and animal species not cultivated by the residents, but also an important part of the maeul's landscape. Furthermore, analyzing the garden's dimensions, location and materiality with relation to the larger landscape is also an important part of the research method. In winter when vines are withered and land is bare, the material that makes up things such as retaining walls and



poles for climbing becomes visible. This information is both important for cultural and environmental reasons.

After each site visit and the field work is completed I immediately that day write up my field notes. This consists of entering the hard data into an excel spreadsheet and then synthesizing the field jottings into written field notes. It is through the act of writing, remembering and synthesizing different types of data, be in the observable landscape or measurable environmental or passing comments of an informant that the data is sifted and yields something tangible.

## **2.5 Methods: Closing Thoughts**

Thus far the method is described in both a theoretical and detailed chronological fashion, with anecdotes from the field. As a landscape is a composite of horizontal and vertical factors, and more than that landscapes are also composed of fuzzy things that can not be recorded with through a simple spreadsheet or axonometric drawing the method for a landscape ethnography is also equally complex, but like any landscape perceptible.

## Chapter Three

### 3. 1 The Landscape System: Geology, Soil & People

The first time I visited Kaemi-Maeul was in August of 2015. The summer's heat was not the issue; it was the humidity. Not knowing there was a direct bus from Hongjae-station, I walked; my legs weighed down under my gear, by the sweat of my brow did I toil up that once-dirt hill. “In the city the rich folks live on the hill. In the country it’s the poor folk” (Lewis-Stemple 2015, 23). This may be true in England, in Korea it’s the opposite, in the country or the city, and this village is on a hill, a fairly tall one.



*Image 3-1: Aerial view of Seoul with location of Kaemi-Maeul marked in black circle. The village is located in the Northwestern part of the city near Bukaksan Mountain. Image source: Naver Maps.*



Image 3-2: Aerial view of Kaemi-Maeul with Hongjae-Dong to the west and Inwangsan Mountain to the east. Image source: Naver Maps.

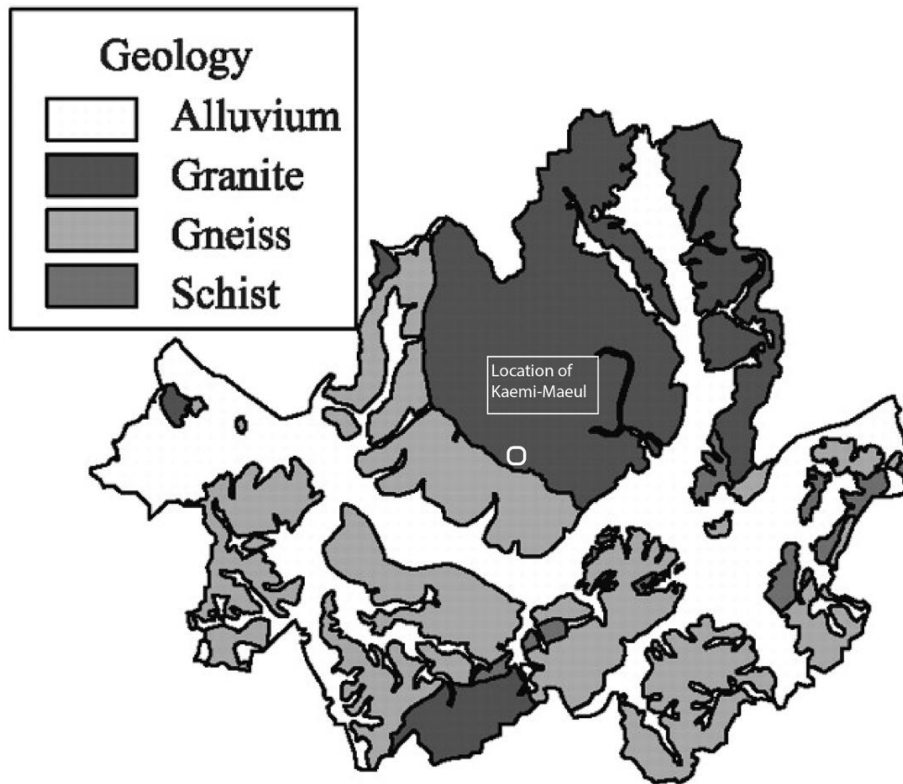


Figure 3-1 Geologic composition of Seoul with location of Kaemi-Maeul. Image source Chae Gae-Tik et al. 2009.



## Ethno-xongraphic Drawing Kaemi-Maeul, Seoul

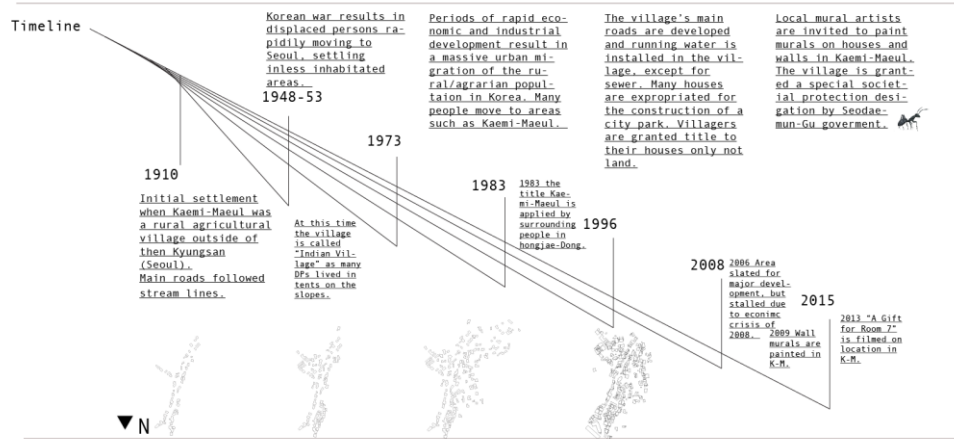


Figure 3-2: Timeline of village history and change in building footprint over time. Village footprint data and historical information based on previously cited historical research on Kaemi-Maeul.

The village is densely packed into a ravine on Inwangsan mountain, 인왕산, sitting adjacent to the larger Bukaksan, 북악산. The houses are arranged in the vernacular fashion one would expect of any such unplanned place. Maybe a game of go-stop determines where my yard ends and yours is no-longer<sup>5</sup>. The mountain, at nearly 340 meters above sea level isn't the tallest mountain in Seoul, nor the shortest. It is, however, one of both geological and cultural historic note in Seoul, but then what mountain isn't? Inwangsan mountain takes its name as a nick-name of sorts from the long ago Chosun Era of King Taejo, 조선조 태조, when it was referred to as Seo-bong, 서봉 (西峰), or Seo-San

<sup>5</sup> A Korean card game, often done with betting involved.

(西山) the Western mountain. Of the four original Seoul mountains of old, this was one. And on this mountain top was a temple called, 仁王寺 (인왕사), Inwang-Sa, thus over time the mountain became known as 仁王山 (인왕산), Inwang-San Mountain. . Still today there is a small pagoda and temple at the top of the village. The mountain is granite, covered mostly in Pines, *Pinus rigidia*, or *densiflora*, with smatterings of unique weathered granite out-cropping. These little skin-tags and warts, are the sign of a geologic life long lived. The mountain was also for a long time off-limits from 1968 to 1993 to civilians<sup>6</sup> (관동회 2014, 97-106).



Image 3-3: Kaemi-Maeul looking up the main road at entrance to maeul.

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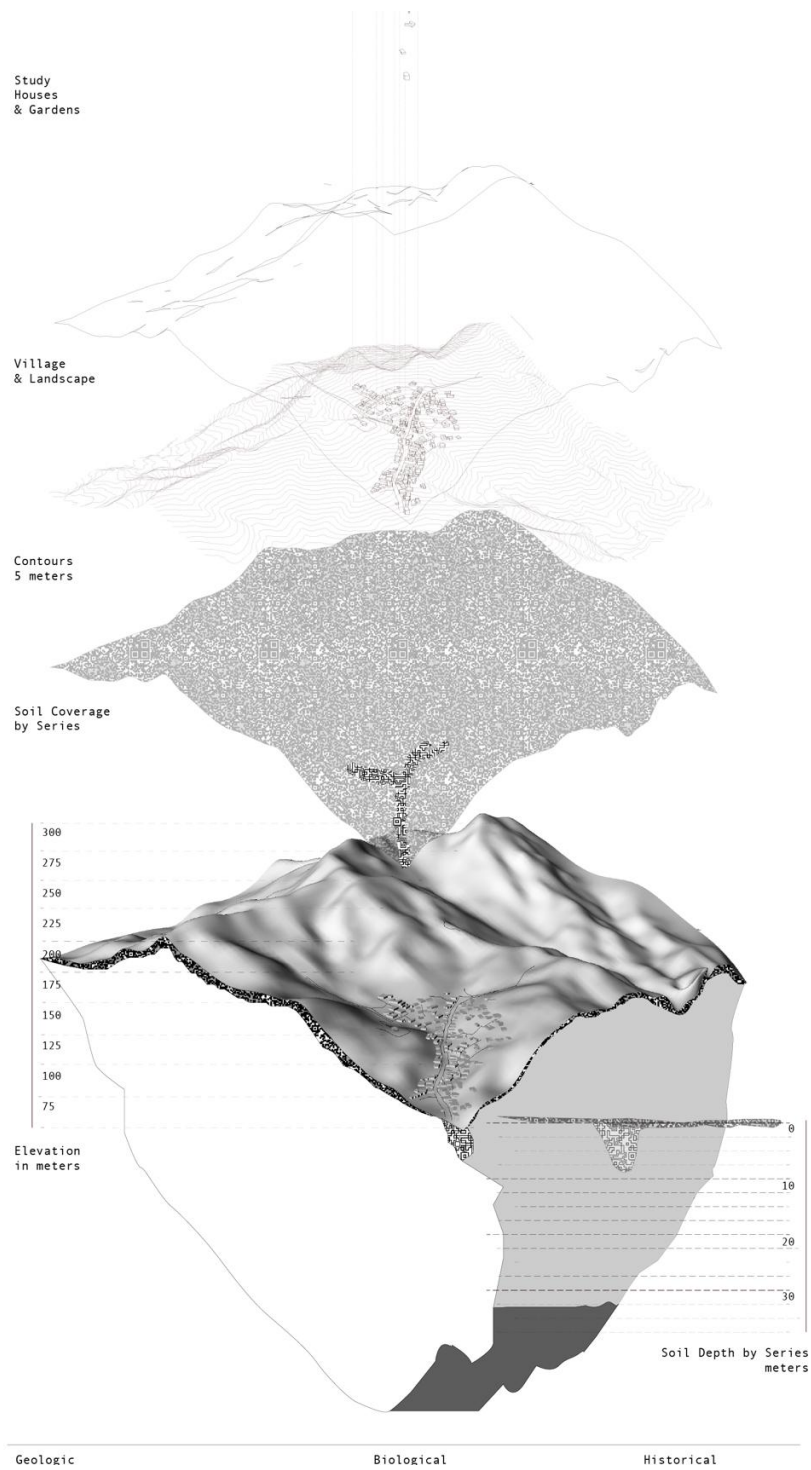
<sup>6</sup> On this date North Korean commandos unsuccessfully attempted to attack the Blue House, the presidential palace and the surrounding area, exluding the village, was closed to civilians until 1993. See, <http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=2844969&cid=56780&categoryId=56780>

The following figure, figure 3-2, shows the geologic and topographic profile of the village as an exploded axonometric. The first layer, simply shows the profile of the village and the topography modeled in Rhino, a 3-D modeling programme, based on the geographic data provided by the National Geographic Information Institute at a scale of 1:2500. The elevation is projected next to the first layer to show the height above sea level, from the base at the entrance to the village to the top of Inwangsan Mountain. The second level shows the soil coverage by soil series type, information provided by the Korean Soil Information System's soil GIS Server<sup>7</sup>. The third layer shows the contours at 5m intervals with the fourth being the cover area and total housing footprint and the fifth the specific study site houses. The adjacent inset shows the relative soil depth as a cross-section through the village for the soil series (ibid).

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<sup>7</sup> Based on previous soil information provided by soil.rda.go.kr





*Figure 3-3: Exploded Axometric of geology, soil, contour & study sites for the landscape ethnographic research in Kaemi-Maeul. The small but deep soil is Suam SqD, with the surrounding area covered in Gwanag-Series, GnE2 soil series.*

The soils underfoot, or now under concrete, are of two types, the Gwanag series and the Suam series (Korean Soil Survey 1972). These soil types, are found throughout the Korean peninsula on the slopes of her granite intrusions into the Precambrian gneiss bands. The western and southern parts of the city have gentler sloping hills, due to the gneiss bands, but Kaemi-Maeul has the fortune, or poor-fortune, of being on one of those granite nevus on the pale of her fine gneiss (Kuitert 2013b, 58-59).

Gwanag series (GnE2) soil is useful to a pine tree and a mountain grass, maybe some other shrubs, but not much else. The experience of walking on it can be found in any Western-movie gun duel<sup>8</sup>. With each step small plumes of pale khaki-brown dust explode out under each footstep. The village centre and the place where many of the houses rest is over Gwanag soil, however, there is a small thin band of Suam series that slices through parts of the village and encircles it. This soil is much more suited for growing things people like to eat (Korean Soil Information Agency).

Some more on the soil of Kaemi-Maeul, it is specifically coded as “GnE2” in the soil code. Soil exists in layers. What we think of soil, like the dermis of our skin, has more than just one surface layer. There are strata to soil that act like the skin, each one a specific physiological function, and the deeper the thicker. The epidermal soil here is mostly a pale-sandy coarse material, not even fit for making a castle. The deeper layers are what soil-

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<sup>8</sup> Korean Soil Survey Data, <http://soil.rda.go.kr/soil/soilmap/characteristic.jsp> Gwanag Series, revised 1978.



scientists call “non-plastic” or “non-sticky.” There isn’t much glue holding them together. It’s mostly a collection of pebbles, and small stones trampled by dinosaur feet and geological time to finer and finer bits. This is why the water rushes through deep into the granite core faster than the other places. A pine root likes this formation<sup>9</sup>, not a cabbage. This is not the soil to grow a garden on. Then how does the village do it?

I came across this answer in October, 2015 on one of my site visits. The weather was nicer, around 13 degrees Celsius. The hustle and bustle of summer had come and gone, the harvest nearly complete and the village getting ready for the winter. On this day I came across an elderly couple digging in a makeshift garden on the street, in front of the wall that separates their yard from the public. They were burying the end bits of their red peppers. I asked them what they were doing and they responded that they were getting ready for the winter and planting the seeds in the soil. Curious I asked them where the soil was from. They just said, away, some other mountain<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> From my personal class notes, Kutiart’s 2015 Landscape System Studio Course, Seoul National University, Department of Landscape Architecture.

<sup>10</sup> From an October 13th, 2015 field visit. Impromptu and informal interview regarding the origins of the soil in the box garden. Informant name not given.



*Image 3-4: Food rubbish and garbage strewn in a garden in Kaemi-Maeul.*

The soil used for the gardens in Kaemi-Maeul isn't local to the village. There isn't much for a humic layer let alone organics in the dirt underneath the slab of concrete that has replaced the once dirt road up the mountain (though is where the more useful Suam [SqD] series soil lay). Yet, despite the lack of space, as I will discuss later, nor the best environmental conditions, steep slope, lousy soil, the village retains a gardening tradition. It is this generational practice, applied to the constraints of economics and environment that makes Kaemi-Maeul, though not unique as an urban-village in Seoul, rather typical. Therefore, a good place to conduct the research.

I discovered the secret of where the nicer, browner soil came from much later in March. I asked a passing woman about the origin of the garden's soil. She told me it came from the nearby mountain, the source of the Suam soil. This soil series, is much more

suited to growing vegetables. This was the missing piece of information that I needed. This still did not explain everything, it was obvious though from simply looking at some of the gardens, the soil was not Suam Series, SqD. How did it produce an abundance of vegetables and plants to sustain life?



*Image 3-5: A man planting red peppers in a concrete masonry unit constructed garden on the road. When asked about the origins of the soil, his wife said it was from another location, not local. From an October 2015 site visit. Image source: Author.*

### **3.2 Water & Gardens**

There are two small streams that run through Kaemi-Maeul. One runs down the Eastern side of the village and other down the Western side, they join at a confluence and then disappear somewhere underground, never to be seen again. At one time these streams, which freeze in the winter probably served as a source of water for the gardens, were

essential for living. Today there is a toilet or two that empties directly into the streams. These mountain streams were an important part of life in Seoul, especially in these small villages. Even today many hikers will trek up the mountains to reach the source for such a fresh spring.

These days the springs and streams do not play a major role in providing water for the gardens. If anything they are places where trash is thrown or other refuse is distributed. It is one of the most unfortunate aspects of the village that the streams, which for so long, were a vital source of life, have been treated so poorly.

### **3.3 The Term Maeul**

Maeul is the Korean term for village. The word's origins like most in the Korean language come from Chinese characters. The Chinese character here is (里) which stands for village. It is made from a combination of characters, the important one's being (田) and (土) which represent farm or agricultural land and then soil. In essence the meaning of the term is a place for agricultural production. Since humans are required for such activities naturally it would also mean a place where they congregate to live<sup>11</sup>. There are various types of maeuls, or villages, in Korea, even different types of "urban-maeuls." One such type is the alley village, which is a narrow alley that is also referred to with the maeul term. In this thesis I use the term maeul to imply a place of gardening or agricultural activity within a community setting.

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<sup>11</sup> All Chinese character's (Hanja) meanings are derived from the Naver.com online dictionary.

## Chapter Four

### 4.1 History of a Village (Past)

Everyplace has a history, in Korea that history is long. Kaemi-Maeul's history is just as long. Early maps and records, as discussed earlier show human presence in this area for nearly 1000 years before the place became Kaemi-Maeul.

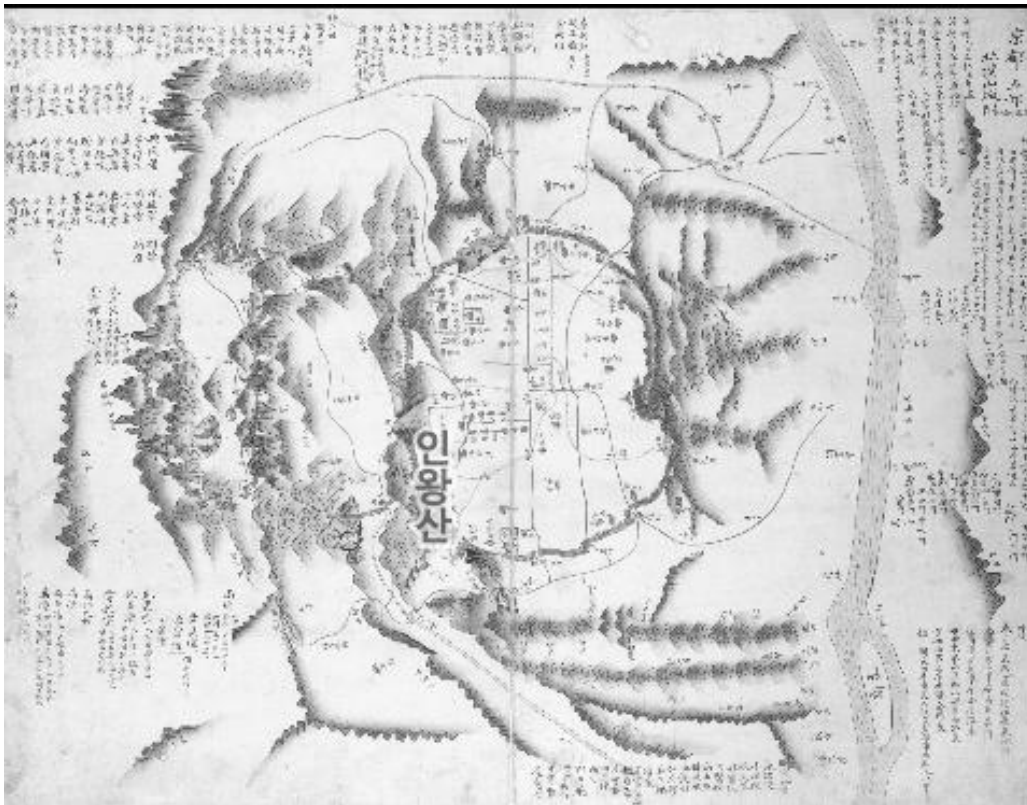


Image 4.1: 해동지도 (海東地圖) 1750, 규장각각연구서 서울대학교, 1750 Map of Eastern Section, from the Korean Studies Institute at Seoul National University. Inwangsan Mountain is labeled a 인왕산 in Hangeul. Note its proximity to the palace.

This history is important, but for this story, we start much later, at the middle of the century, after the war that split Korea into two halves. We start in 1953, after the dust settled, and there was a lot of dust. War needs fire and the mountains were rich in fuel. It was during this period that many of the mountains in Seoul were cleared of their trees, and also vital soil (Kim et Kim, 2005).

The village formed as a result of the upheaval of the Korean War and the new economic opportunities found in Seoul. The war resulted in a large amount of refugees being displaced from their original and mostly rural residences.

The other major cause of migration to Seoul was the hope for better economic opportunities. Why farm when you can work in a factory and send your kids to a better school? The moral of “Country Mouse, City Mouse” gets lost when your child needs medical care. Since the 1950s and even until today the rural population in Korea, much like the rest of the world, the rural population is in steep decline. Of that rural population, the farmers are the most pronouncedly aging and steadily dropping in Korea. In fact at present, from a ten year span from 1994 to 2004 the agricultural population dropped nearly thirty-five percent (이은숙 2004). Seoul, formerly Hanyang, was inundated with people, from the north, south, east, west and near afar, all looking to eek out a living in a tragically fractured ecosystem. The war’s aftermath destroyed much of what there was to support life on the peninsula, the loss of trees, arable land and healthy young men and women to work it left the nation starving, cold and ailing. Foraging in the hills for anything edible was common; many ate the summer harvest before the autumn one could be planted. With the United States army handing out aid, who wouldn’t take that opportunity (Oh Kongdan,

2010)? Seoul already a plump mandu<sup>12</sup>, was ready to crumble; the steam that was more and more people coming in was weakening her soft shell, and where for these people to go? To the hills! Most of the maeuls in Seoul, like Kaemi-Maeul, are formed on steep, previously uninhabited or little in-habited hillsides. There was no where else to go (최성희, 2013 ).

Kaemi-Maeul was originally called 인디언촌, or “Indian Village” when the maeul was forming in 1953. The more fortunate people living in the existing Soedaemun-gu area called it Indian Village due to the tent-like shanties that were the early residences homes (최갑수, 2009). It would take some time for their current houses to come. During this time, the hills surrounding the maeul and much of Seoul were bare or sparse. The war’s toll can be measured by both a butcher’s bill (a term used by English sailors when asking about the number of dead from battle) and per cord of wood. It was after the war that fathers took young children out, tethered to a rope with seeds for Pitch Pine, *Pinus rigida*, native to the United States, in pouch. Each time they stopped, they dropped the seeds.<sup>13</sup> This was both a smart idea and not-so-smart in hind site. In one way it began the process again of ecological succession, and this American pine tree does like granite soil and the rocky crags and nooks found on Korean mountains, it doesn’t like Pacific typhoons. The wind that shakes the barley breaks the rigid pine. Climate change predictions also point to a possible pine-less Korea in the near future (정현용, 이우균, 남기준, & 김문일, 2013)

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<sup>12</sup> A steamed soft dumpling filled with either tofu or kimchi and other stuffing. They often fall apart before you get them near your mouth if you use chopsticks.

<sup>13</sup> From my personal class notes Fall semester, 2015, Kuitert’s “Readings in Landscape Thought Course”, Seoul National University, Department of Landscape Architecture.



홍재동 관자집 (1966년 6월29일)  
원래 홍재동 한양아래의 쪽에서 북악산을 찍은 40년의 양쪽 수계 모습은  
오늘의 모습에 비하면 금강저금(구름-28)이다.

*Image 4-2 Hongjae-dong looking to Bukaksan Mountain and Inwangsan Mountain, 1996 from the Seodaemun-gu Office History Department. Note the low growth pines and nearly bare hillsides. Image source:*

The current name, Kaemi-Maeul, “Ant Village” wasn’t applied until 1983. Yet again the villagers had little say, nor perhaps concern in the naming of their village. Seeing the diligent and hard-working village residents’ daily lives, the surrounding neighbourhood people decided they worked like ants, thus “Ant Village” (최갑수, 2009). Ant Village is fitting, but more so for the winds and bends of the roads, contour line surfing hill paths cum stairs and alleys between houses and gardens. Take a section cut through the village and hold it up to the light it may just look very similar to a childhood ant-set. This takes us to the current history.

## 4.2 Contemporary History

Kaemi-Maeul holds a certain chic-hip in the larger district and city on a whole. The politically correct parlor class “wants to help.” There is no shortage of volunteers delivering coal-briquettes to the elderly, justifiably, in the cold of winter. The district office



has designated the maeul a place of cultural importance. Movies and dramas are filmed here, the quaintness of the wall murals and paintings adorned on some residents' houses mixed with the feel of yesteryear makes for a great background scene framed through the lens of the Korean tinsel-town, scripting. On any given day tourists from Japan, China and other lands near and afar, along with local young couples looking to take a "selfie" in the cuteness of the village, is a common sight. The village residents themselves know that they are object of a fantasy, an idealization of village life, held by the daily visitors looking to take a photo for the blog. The hip young guy or gal with a DSLR looking for new-age fun with a vintage feel. It was in one unstructured interview session that a resident, without cue just stated, "Look on the internet all these maeuls are there. People come in here to take pictures, look at the paintings [wall murals] and the village life<sup>14</sup>." He said this with a sense of scorn, knowing that the village and its residents were a spectacle for voyeuristic class in high-heels and Gucci bags. The current stock is aging, many require social assistance and volunteerism for basic necessities. As of 2016, the houses still don't have flush toilets, some with pump-water. Despite this, much to the surprise of the do-goodery-dos in Seoul and the day-trippers, the residents maintain a sense of pride and a sense of place in their village. They know the true spirit of the place, the heart of the place lay in the earth, beneath the veneer of a fading "sponge-bob" murals. The real story this place cannot be recorded within the time-frame of shutter speed nor told with mega-pixels.

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<sup>14</sup> Translated by author from a semi-structured interview held on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016.

### 4.3 Sociopolitical Issues

The maeul as was previously stated is home to many residents that are advanced in age and simple in means. With many elderly residents relying on both welfare and volunteers to provide basic needs in life such as heating fuel, food and even in some cases income. It was through one lengthy interview on May 30<sup>th</sup>, at the Kyungrodan (Senior Citizens Centre) that an informant in his late sixties spoke of the time after the June 25<sup>th</sup> War or Korean War and the level of disdain and in Korean 무시하다, or looking down upon by the surrounding neighbourhood's residents and officials in the government offices. Kaemi-Maeul, much like all the other maeuls similar to it in Seoul, has been and still is a haven for those with limited incomes and societal mobility in South Korea. Though as time has passed some in the village have gained a bit of assets and are or have chosen to move out for an apartment lifestyle and in their place either left a 빈집, abandoned house, or sold their properties. I was told by my apartment to move into one of the abandoned houses and fix it up and join them in the maeul. There are three major groups of thought in the maeul today, those that want to keep the place as it is, those that want to see development, and those who are moving into the maeul for various reasons and don't know yet. 최인기, Choi In-Gi (2014), documents this divide in his book 떠나지 못한 사람들: 무엇이 그들을 도시의 유령으로 만드는가, The People Who Can't Leave: What Makes Them Into A City's Ghost, using Kaemi-Maeul as a specific site for discussing the divide between the have and have not's desire to develop versus those that like things the way they are.

Choi writes of the current trend in Korea for the development of “New Towns” or 마을 만들기” as a planning and development initiative. In his research he spoke to residents of the two opposing sides. One side would like to see the development of the village, the other wants things to stay the way they are, why change what he [the resident] already has known for so long. The complaints of the residents wanting change are valid, lack of transportation, plumbing, inability to extend one’s house or change its exterior appearance (a result of of planning decisions after the wall murals were painted in 2008). Many complain of the difficulty of living in such an extreme environment tucked onto the side of a mountain, with only steep stairs to access their houses. Though, others more attached to the way of life in the maeul, are against any further development or major changes. I’d argue that with a little deeper investigation, those against development are probably the ones engaging with their landscape much more intimately through gardening (최인가, 2014; 최인가, 2014).

There is a third group of people not included in Choi’s book are the new comers to the village. The gentrifying persons, the ideological immigrants, the opportunistic entrants to the area. These residents come for a variety of reasons and also have a diverse set of opinions. Most would like to change the appearance of their houses, not all are that into gardening. Through informal interviews their views on the present and future of the village are also elucidated and are just as opposing. This new group represents an important factor in the landscape ethnography of Kaemi-Maeul. The newer residents come from a range of backgrounds. On one end of the spectrum there are the young ideological artists collectively living in the Sunflower Haelbae’s house or “Willow Tree Store”. Specifically

choosing an alternative and more importantly affordable urban lifestyle<sup>15</sup>. Then there are the middle-aged couple with children no long living at home. A doable escape to simpler, yet less convenient accommodations. All these new types mean changes to the landscape.

Though the village is now a “development protected/restricted” zone, owing to its picturesque quality, how well that zoning regulation will be adhered to is still up for debate, especially when one considers the “OBBA 50 m<sup>2</sup> House” at the entrance to the village. The first in many famous architect designed boutique houses to come? Or the new owners of the house just below the Buddhist temple, busy remodeling for their weekend getaway, with no interest in gardening. Like any ecological succession things change, ecological conservation zones in many ways make little sense. Ecology is about change. Kaemi-Maeul will eventually change, to a new culture, a new balance, a new landscape, the question is how does it change? The gardens are an important element in the landscape that define the people and the people define the land through them. Economic and demographic factors influence this element of the landscape in the maeul. Gardening is no longer a necessary requirement for survival, rather it is now a hobby activity, a social gathering for residents, a new-age activity for new comers and in the cases of some of the elderly residents living in apartments that now just “weekend” in Kaemi-Maeul, a past-time tradition, their connection to a past way of life. As food production becomes less localized and the urban part of urban-village takes predominance, it is arguable that the landscape understanding within the village will decrease. The reasons behind such an understanding were economic; once it was a necessary way of life, to grow food to feed a family. Now, even though many

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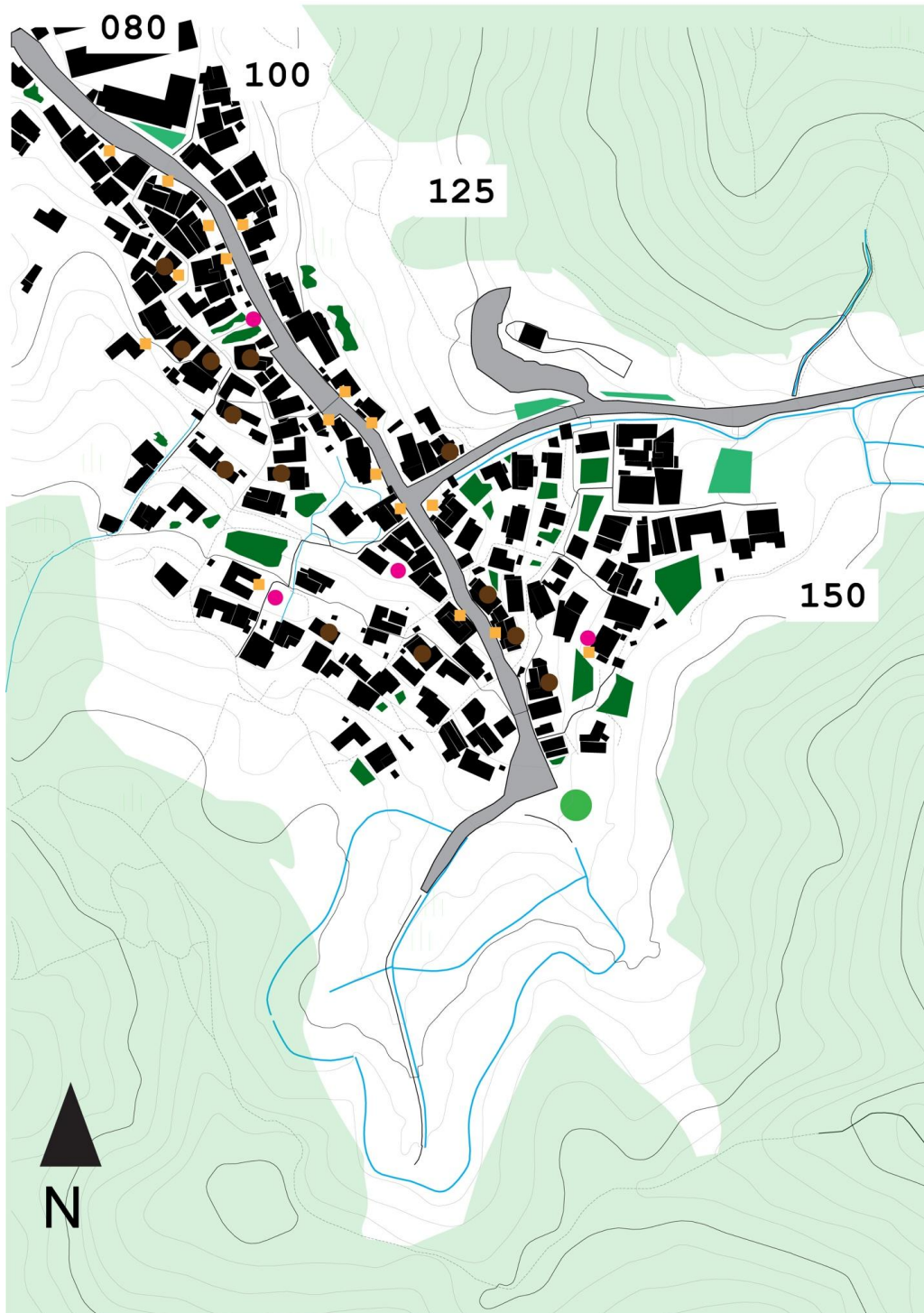
<sup>15</sup> The new residents in the artist collective say they spend only 50,000 korean won per month on rent, per person. A total of 200,000 KRW per month for a whole house.

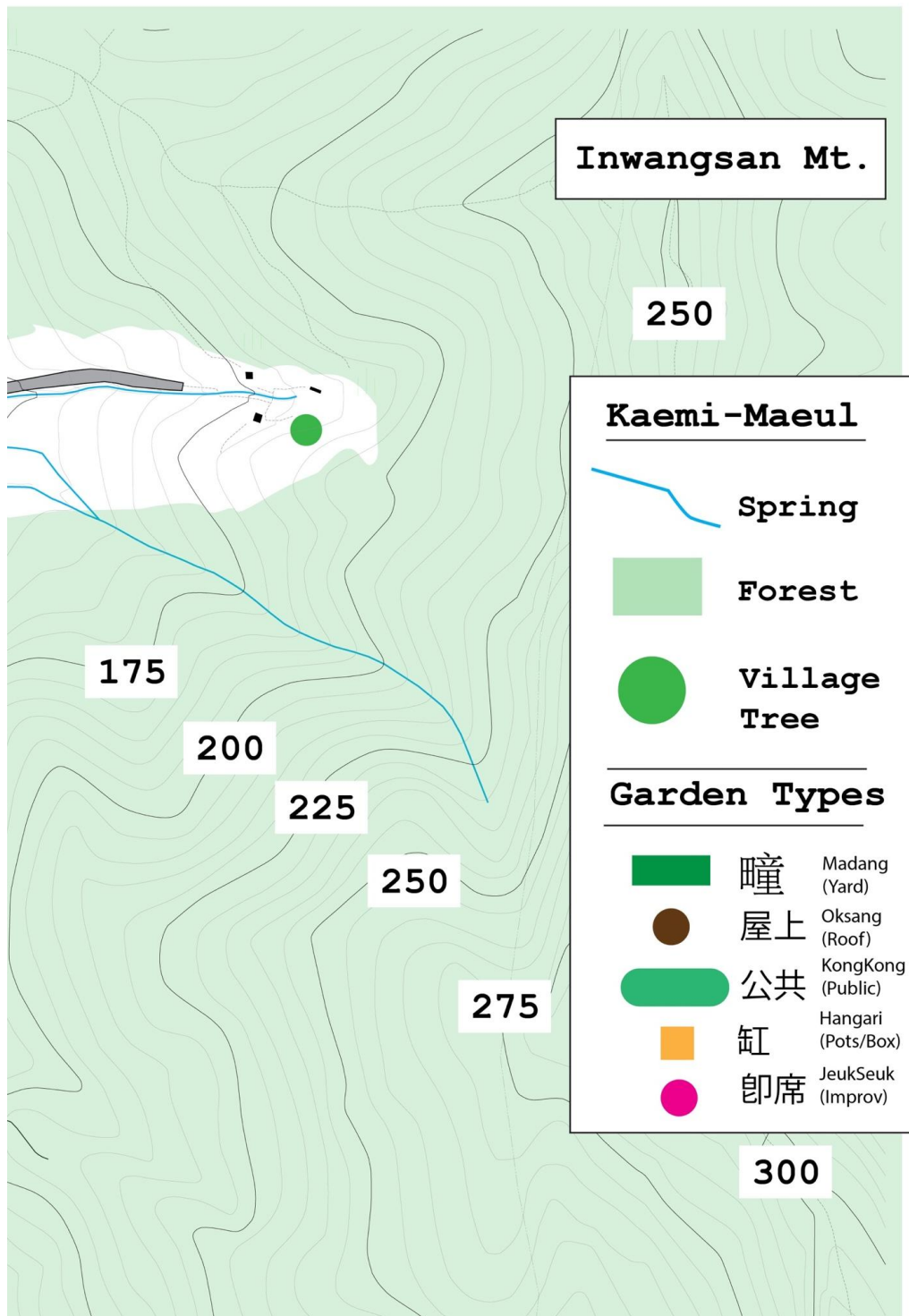
residents in the village are still economically at the base of the pyramid, they are not dependent so much on their gardens to live.

## Chapter Five

### 5.1 Garden Typologies

Most gardens in Kaemi-Maeul are located in either the resident's front yard, or some other place directly adjunct to their house. There is the odd garden, such as mentioned in chapter 2, in public spaces such as the street or in Styrofoam boxes tucked near the building housing the local telephone cables, then there are the (항아리), hangari, large earthen ceramic plant potters that are used for any assortment of growing things, storing things and even building things. These gardens are built-up, raised beds. The walls of most gardens are constructed with rocks and cinder blocks, I saw one that was made with the traditional clay roofing tiles found on the local roofs. Since the village is tucked into a steep incline, the gardens are graded and leveled, one house has a stepped garden that abuts right up to the neighbour's house. The retaining wall for the garden follows in many places the contour interval at 5 meters. This was observed with using GPS data then calibrated with the 1:5000 data layer provided by the Korean Government's Spatial Data Department.





Previous page Figure 5-1: Map of Kaemi-Maeul with Garden Typologies

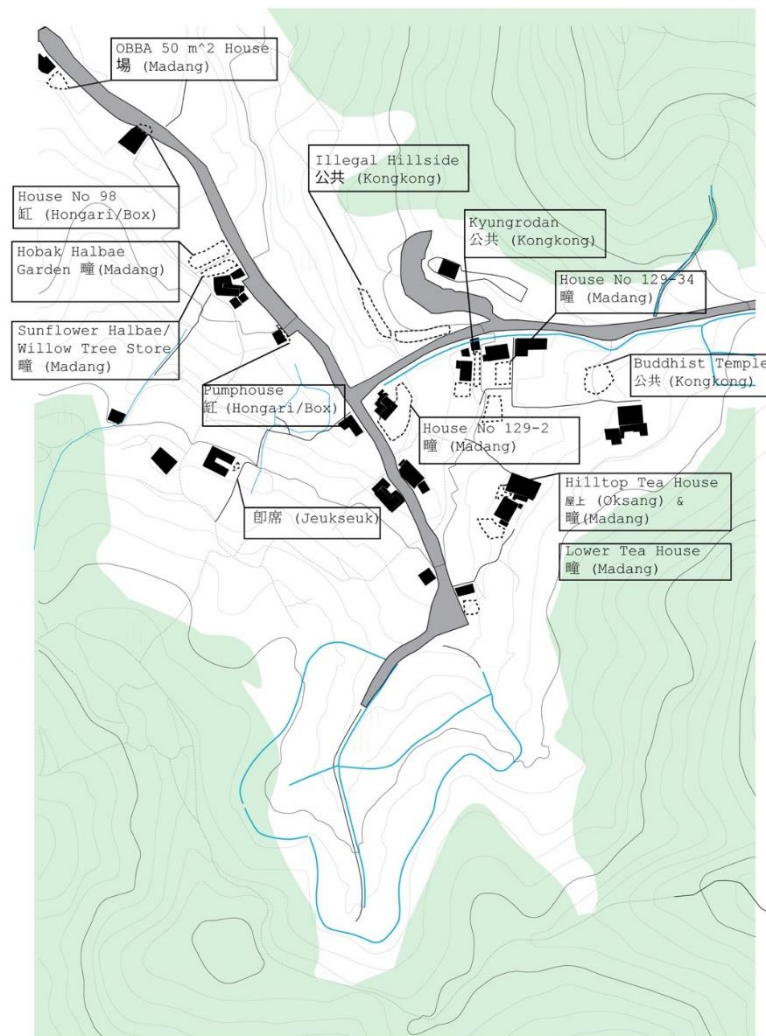


Figure 5-2: The locations of the various research sites and their gardens and types in the maeul.



The garden typologies of Kaemi-Maeul are organized into five types based on a “-nomy” of two classifications; gardens in the ground, gardens above ground. . The gardens are more diverse than these five generalizations, and as per the gardener’s personality or resourcefulness each are different. These categories are at best a simple taxonomy of the types of gardens found in the maeul.

### **In the Ground Gardens**

#### **Type A) The Madang, 마당, (曠): A garden that directly abuts the house or property**

This is the most predominant garden found in the maeul. These gardens are mostly found on the western side of the ravine as these houses are less densely spaced and the slope is less severe. It would appear that there is an economic dynamic at play within Kaemi-Maeul itself. The house on this side of the road, this side of the ravine, tend to be a bit larger and in better shape. They also have the most space for personal gardens. Many of these gardens follow the contour lines at 1 to 5-meter intervals and also are found where the tendril-like foot paths that interconnect the houses. These gardens are more than just left-over spaces; they also function as a green boundary of sorts between properties.



*Image 5-1: A Madang or yard garden at the rear of a house. This type of garden is more prominent on the western side of the ravine. Note the metal roofing sheets used as a garden fence.*



*Image 5-2: A Madang garden with a rock wall at the top of the maeul in winter.*

House No. 129-2 Plan and Sections:  
Typology (甕) & (缸)

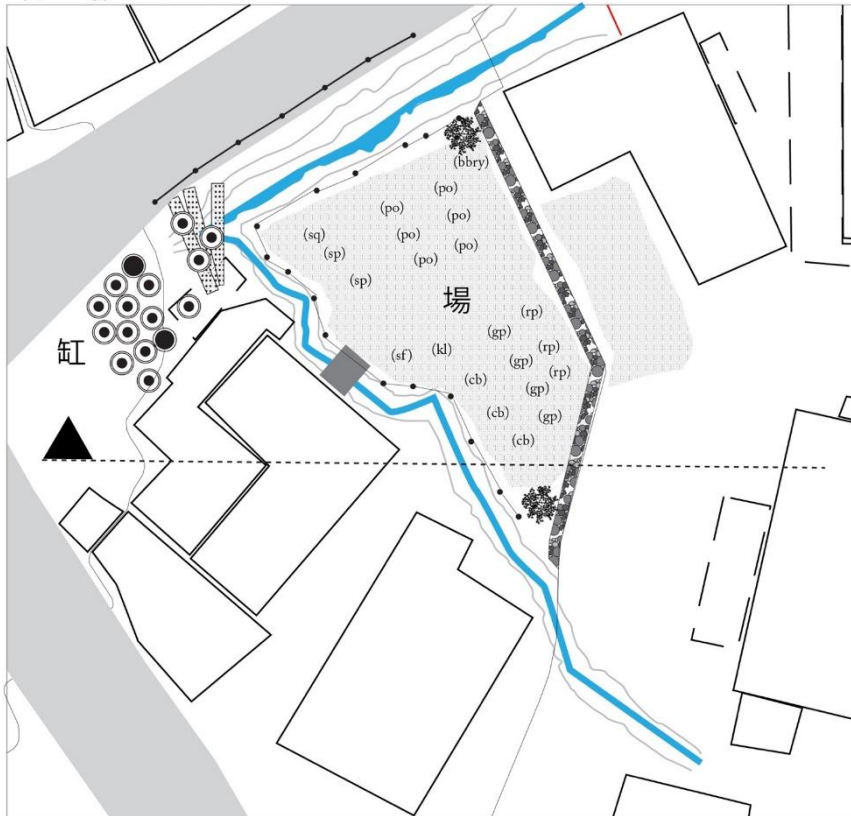
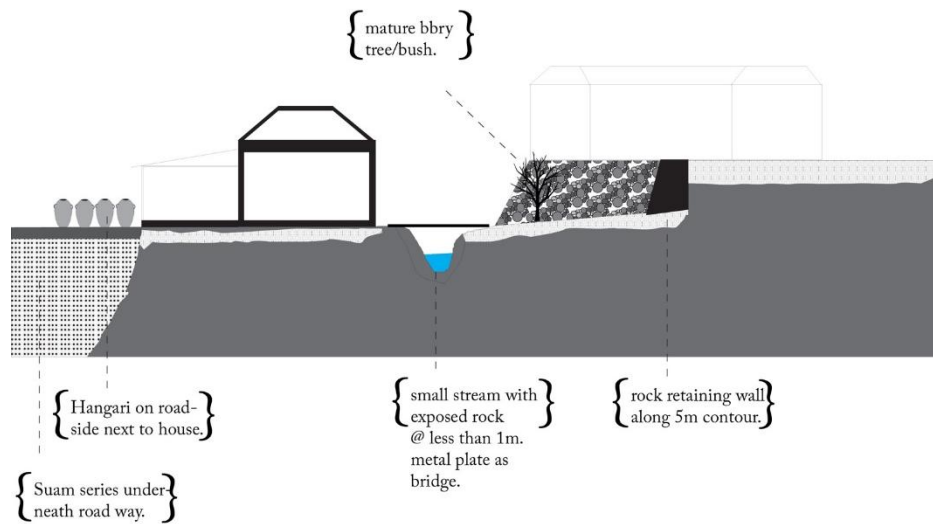


Figure 5-3: Plan diagram of House No 129-2. The codes on following pages figure, Fig 5-4 show what plants are grown in their location in the garden.



#### Vegetable Codes:

spinach (sp)	pumpkin (pm)
cayenne peppers, red (rp)	squash (sq)
cayenne peppers, green (gp)	kale (kl)
lettuces (lc)	sunflower (sf)
cabbage (cb)	blackberry (bbry)
potatoes (pt)	tomatoes (tm)
sweet potatoes (sp)	
green onion (gr)	
beans, green (gb)	

Figure 5-4: Section diagram for House No. 129-2.

**Type B) The KongKong, 공공, (公共): A garden that is a shared resource, not located next to any one person's house. A public garden. Or a garden on public land.**

This garden exists where space is either limited or available. The eastern slope of the maeul is too steep and dense to support space for the Madang (幢) garden type. Also the foot paths that connect this space are all mostly either concrete stairs or paved over in concrete. One such solution to this problem is found in the Pumpkin House Garden, next to the Sunflower Halbae's Garden. This space is left-over space that lay over the city gas line, which is not connected to the village houses. Here, the houses directly behind, on the lower end of the perch, share the plot, divided into three sections for the three houses.

Another example of a community garden, or garden on public land is also the Kyungrodan or Seniors' Centre. There are two gardens that abut the building, one along side, which has the 대추 (a type of date, *Zizyphus jujuba Mille var*), Chinese apricot and Persimmon tree along with ornamentals for collective use by members. On the backside of the centre is a communal vegetable garden that houses, spinach, lettuce, peppers and other leafy greens also for communal use. The aforementioned garden, shared by three different houses is maintained separately by the respective garden tender, for their use, whereas here the gardens are a communal effort in raising and maintenance. Another example of the community garden in the maeul is at the bottom of the hill at the entrance to the village. Here there is a well documented and publicized garden that appears to be maintained by volunteers that drive into the village and tend the garden. On one site visit in April 11<sup>th</sup>, it was noticed that the volunteers or who ever, were planting saplings of various types of chives, that had been grown in an external nursery. This garden was not started from

scratch as was the Kyungrodan's garden. Also, there is much more obvious importation of soil as top-soil bags were noticed amongst the other gardening paraphernalia.

The last example of public space garden is such as this one. Here the gardener, ignoring the posted sign that says, "No Illegal Gardening on Public Land" has opted to just go ahead with the cultivation of this plot with many chives and spinach plants. This is a larger swath of land that abuts the road diverging from the main road, and extends along the contour line. Despite the sign it appears there is little effort to enforce the rule. The presence of an out-house and a house with running water almost lends an air of official tenancy to the garden.



*Image 5-3: The volunteer "community" garden, tended by outsiders to the village. Perhaps a volunteer organization associated with the neighbourhood government offices. Research did not speak with these gardeners yet.*





*Image 5-4: The Kyungrodan, or Seniors' Centre back garden. This garden functions as a community garden where the members of the centre garden together and share the resources for communal eating.*



*Image 5-5: An illegal garden on public land. The gardener has opted to ignore the posted sign by the district government that reads "No Illegal Cultivation."*

Kyungrodan & 1House No 129-34 Plan  
and Sections: Typology (幢) & (公共)

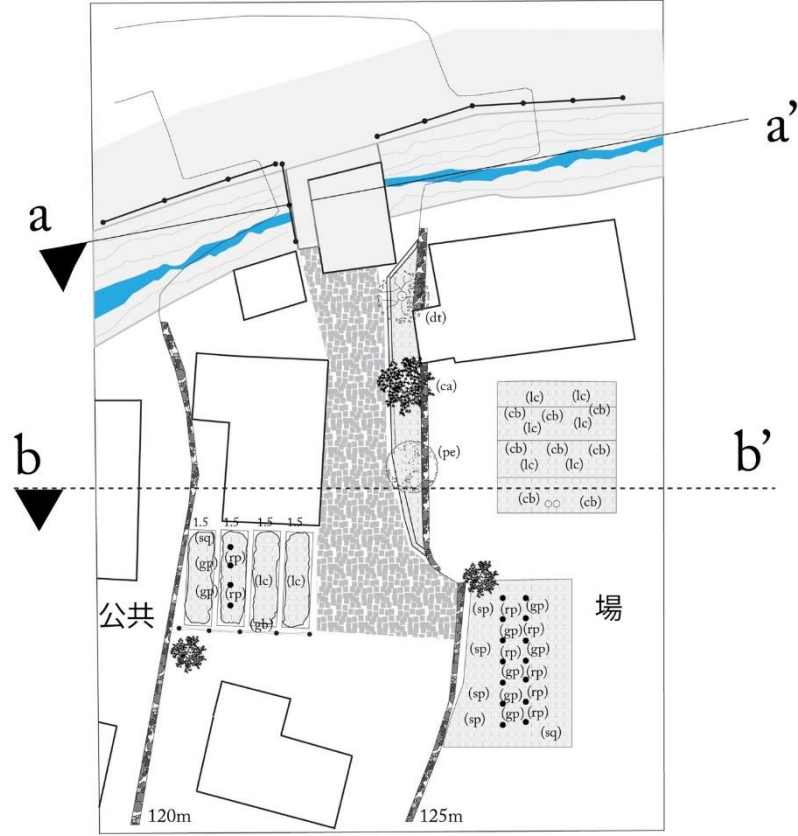


Figure 5-5 Plan Diagram of Kyungrodan and House No 129-34. The same plant species codes are shown on Fig 5-6 on the following page.



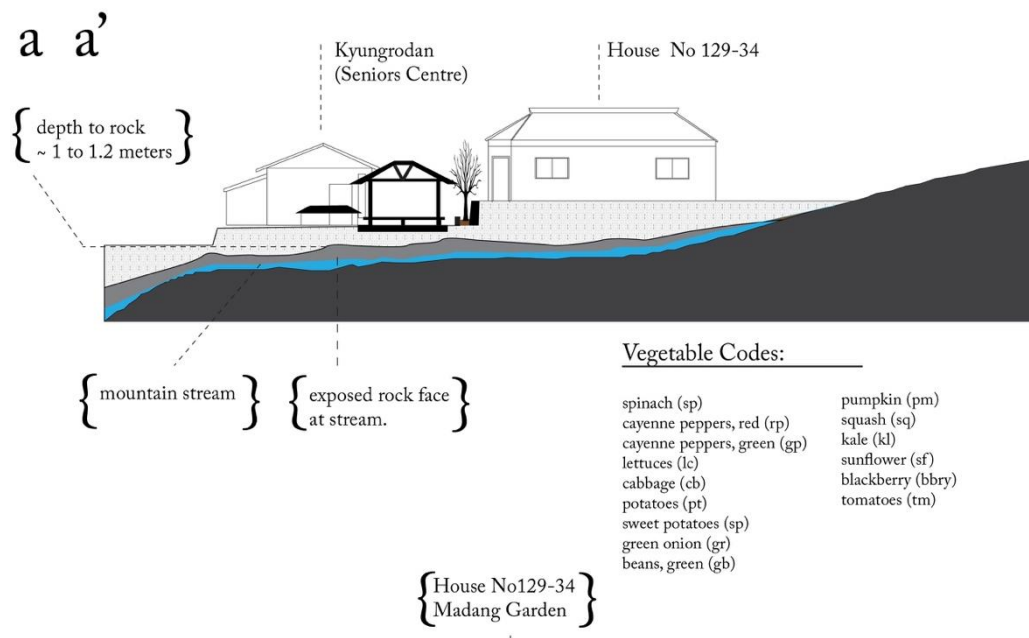


Figure 5-6: Section of Kyungrodan Garden A looking North.

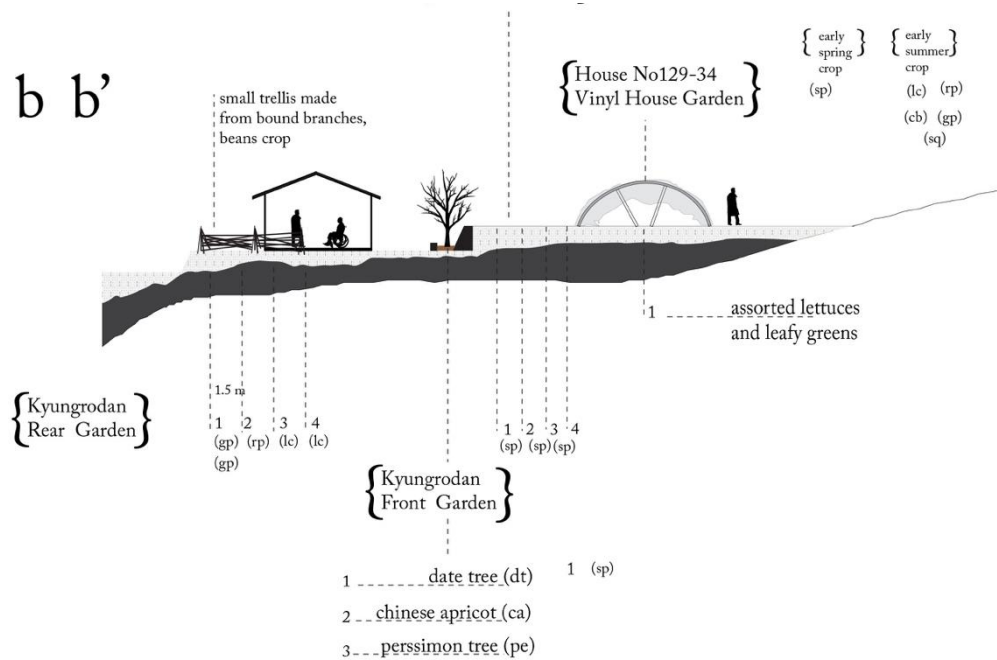


Figure 5-7: Section of Kyungrodan and House No. 129-34 gardens.

## Above the Ground Gardens

### **Type C) The Oksang ,옥상, (屋上): A garden of sorts located on the roof or some exterior surface**

The typical roof garden mostly consists of plant pots either placed on a roof or an elevated surface about foot grade. They can also be found simply on a porch or window-sill. This garden is found on both sides of the ravine, with more on the steeper eastern slope. These gardens mostly contain plans such as red peppers, sometimes pumpkins, other small chive and onion plants or flowers.



*Image 5-6: An oksang or roof garden, more prominent on the western side of the ravine where space is less available for yard gardens. The houses are denser and the slope is steeper.*

**Type D) Styrofoam Box & Hangari 항아리 (甕) (Brown Korean Ceramics used for food storage) Potters: Either non-traditional uses of vases or containers for planting in public or private spaces.**

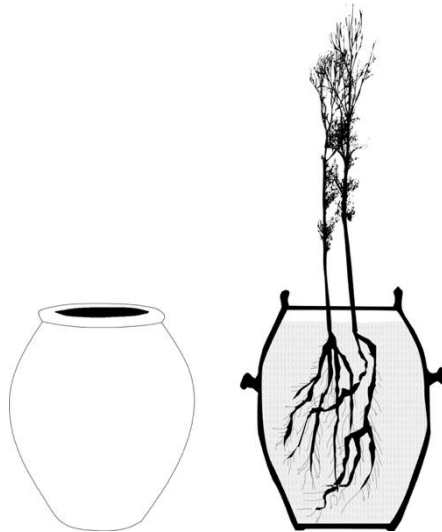
This type of garden is representative of the most economical and inventive use of space, or lack of space, for the purpose of gardening. These types of informal garden spaces are found in small boxes either in front of the the houses along the road, made from non-traditional garden materials near the house, such as roofing tiles, or from Styrofoam boxes. The plants grown in such container gardens range from red peppers, to lettuce to spinach and onions and other leafy greens. One such garden in House N<sup>o</sup>98, also had three persimmon saplings transplanted onto the site.



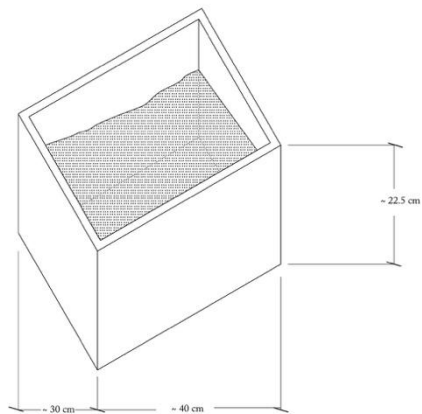
*Image 5-7 (L): A plastic milk crate used as a planter. The plants appear to be some type of chive.*



*Image 5-8 (R): Plant potters and plastic crates on the side of the road used for red peppers and onions and other small plants and vegetables*



*Figure 5-8: Section and Elevation diagram of Hongari used as a planter pot.*



*Figure 5-9: Axonometric diagram of Styrofoam box used for planting.*



*Image 5-9: Styrofoam boxes used for growing lettuces at the Pumphouse Garden.*

**Type E) Improv , 즉석 (即席): This is any non-traditional use of public infrastructure or space for gardening activity.**

Walls, poles, electrical lines, doors and nearly any other surface or space left-over can be used as a garden in Kaemi-Maeul. The maeul's resourcefulness in gardening is evident in the ability of the people to make nearly anything or any place into some form of a garden.



*Image 5-10: A telephone pole used for growing a gourd vine.*



*Image 5-11: A disposed bathtub used for storing garbage and growing. Many of these such “gardens” at first glance appear to be just left-over spaces for rubbish but in the spring and summer will be full of life. Gardens in Kaemi-Maeul have a dual function in many ways, a place to store rubbish for a while, and a place to grow things.*



Throughout the village there are many informal gardens made out of makeshift materials. A Styrofoam box can work as a planting bed, a plastic bottle a seed germinator, the telephone pole as a place to grow vines and the very retaining wall where the pumpkin or gourd tendrils slither up, adhering to the crevices between the granite blocks.



*Image 5-12: A wall used for holding the vines of a pumpkin plant. Space is rarely let go for waste or ornament in the village. Surfaces that are meant for another purpose are often employed for the production of vegetables and other plants.*



## **5.2 The Landscape Ethnography of Kaemi-Maeul: Plants & Seasons**

Kaemi-Maeul's gardens operate over four seasons. Though at first the torpor of winter appears to hold the village in a semi-state of hibernation, there is more activity than meets the eye. Often during site visits in the winter, what would appear as no or little activity, would in fact be a flurry of subtle actions, not directly perceptible to the eye or the camera. This activity, without directly speaking with the people who garden in the village, would never be known to the researcher.

The fall is a busy season with harvesting, enjoying the produce of one's nonchalant labours. The winter is much less busy, the residents mostly staying inside, huddled around the coal fire, but the gardens are still active in a sense. The gardens, many of them, are seasons long sites for composting. On any given winter site visit there would be new mounds of food wastes, and at times other rubbishes, collecting in the gardens. Whether, a Madang or Oksang, there could always been new food strewn in the garden to freeze, rot, then compost. Then grow into something probably healthy, and at best delicious. During this time, there is a host of biological and chemical activity going on underneath the surface.

The plants highlighted in this section are not all that grow in the maeul. The plants selected for this section are based on the survey and semi-formal interviews and have the highest frequency of cultivation amongst the informants that participated in the research. This section discusses the plants material and cultural uses as well as cultivation requirements and a bit of history on the plants.



*Image 5-13: An example of food wastes thrown directly into garden for composting.*

It is the spring that boasts the most visible activity. The gardens, though laying mostly dormant, throughout the winter are now being readied for planting. The preparation for this process is much simpler than the researcher previously thought. The gardening preparation and planting mostly begins in April. When asked why this was the start of the gardening season, the answer is rather simple, it is the when the ground is no longer frozen. This answer though is only a partial truth as some plants are seeded in the winter before the first snow such as the spinach of house N° 129-34 and the red peppers, planted in the Fall, of the house N° 98. For the most part it is the Spring, after the thaw, when the ground is no longer frozen, that the season begins.

### 5.2.1 Gourds & Pumpkins

Gourds and Pumpkins are from a common family. The gourd, is *Lagenaria* whereas the pumpkin, of the type found in Kaemi-Maeul is, *Cucurbita*, both are from the family, *Cucurbitaceae*. These plants both form long vines and have tendrils that cling to any sort of surface or crag or nook that they can. In Kaemi-Maeul both are found in abundance, either growing on the granite and shale stone retaining walls that hold back the embankments of the neighbouring houses or gardens, or the slope itself. The gourds are reported not to be of use for any culinary purpose rather for material use in making a sort of half-bodied dish or a bottle. The bottle gourd, has a cultural significance in many part of the world, Korea too.



Image 5-14: Goryeo Dynasty (12 Century) Gourd Shaped Bottle, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Permanent Collection. Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Asian Art Department.

Either for use as a bottle or as inspiration for a bottle, such as in the above image from the Goryeo dynasty of Korea. The bottle gourd is an important species in Korea and the village.



*Image 5-15: Bottle gourds at the tea-house entrance. The vines are used as a wisteria like covering over the pergola that is the entrance.*

In Kaemi-Maeul such bottle gourd plants are found growing near walls, on surfaces and any other similar place. The dried bisected halves of the gourds or in whole can be seen in many an entrance way as either a decoration or for use as a water holder, cup or bowl. They have a versatile range of uses. Even architectural. The most architectural use of the bottle gourd is found at the Tea-House garden. Here the owner has planted just one root in a large plant potter that sits below the deck to the tea house and the plant is used as a wisteria (*Wisteria chinensis*) like covering for the pergola that is the entrance way to the café.

When I asked the owner about this plant she said it was just placed there, one root in the pot and from that many vines spouted forth. Regarding the maintenance of this plant she said it was just left to do its own thing. She said the gourd was a tough plant that grew well on its own after planting. She did not use it for eating rather for a lacquer craft, making the small bottles out of the dried gourd plants.



*Image 5-16: The sole bottle gourd vine, sprouting from the potter. The owner claimed the roots go no deeper than the pot itself.*

Bottle gourds, though hardy, require their seeds to germinate at least 30 cm wide plant potter, some recommend 50 cm wide and placed at about 6 cm deep. Also, they are a summer growing plant and need soil temperatures above 20°C for growing (도시의농부, 2005). The pollination of these plants is also an important factor. If there is no bee activity the gardener will have to resort to hand pollinating the female and male flowers to produce any fruit (MyKitchenGarden, 2014). I always noticed plenty of wasps, scary big Korean

wasp activity when I was in the area, however I will need to ask further questions about the care and further propagation of this plant.

Pumpkins are another major plant species of material use, edible and architectural, in the village. As there are many craggily, rough rock surfaces and walls and other objects in the maeul for the tendrils of the vines to cling to, and it is a relatively low maintenance plant to cultivate that has a high nutritional value with a significantly large crop yield for the surface area required to cultivate; a popular choice in Kaemi-Maeul.



*Image 5-17 & 5-18: Planting pumpkin, April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016 field visit. The owner of the pumpkin “house” garden was planting this day. Image source: Author.*



Pumpkins are plants that like sun, warm soil, water and lots of nutrients. They also don't like the cold. The *Farmer's Almanac* recommends soil temperatures over 70°F or roughly 21°C. Most gardening starts in April for Kaemi-Maeul, but the pumpkin and gourds are not normally sown and planted at this time. Even by Korean climate standards this is an early period to be sowing the pumpkin seeds. Which, upon inspection where nothing more than store bought seeds in a small plastic crate. On this day, the owner of the garden, this being the Hobak Garden, suspicious of my presence, probably thinking I was just another tourist, consented to me gardening with him. It took much persuasion and explaining the research purposes. On this day, March 21<sup>st</sup>, he had previously made two small long mounds of soil that was not local, a store bought rich and dark brown soil. He then using a towel made a trough of about 5 to 6 cm deep and placed the seeds at very compact spaces of no more than 1 to 2 cm apart. He spread perhaps 30 to 50 seeds. On this day the ambient temperature was no more than 15°C. The soil temperature was the same. Also it is March. As he was in the process of planting his pumpkin seeds, more compactly than the Old Farmer's would advise, or the Royal Horticulture Society, both sources recommend leaving plenty of space between the seeds, a neighbour woman passed by. She scolded the man for planting his pumpkins too early, and said they would never grow. He just looked up, the garden sits below road grade, and with a twinkle in his eye that confessed his years of gardening success with such a process. A success I can attest to as the previous season this garden was littered with pumpkins. He brushed her comments aside and assured her everything would be fine. After she left he looked up at me and told me his secret.

The plot of land that the shared garden sat on lay directly above a city gas main. He said that the soil here was slightly warmer than other places at all times of the year. He said it with an almost giddy expression of cunning and Sherlock Holmes like arrogance. He and his garden compatriots had figured out how to take an advantage out of the micro scale warming from the city gas-line running through the village, that their houses can't access. The houses in Kaemi-Maeul still use coal for heating fuel. After he placed all the pumpkin seeds in the rows he made he then raised two tree branches and propped them against the retaining wall. He said these branches were for the pumpkin vines to climb up later in the season when they are done growing. The seeds were covered and he went inside his house (Almanac, 2013).

There are undoubtedly various other methods for planting pumpkins and gourds in Kaemi-Maeul. This one garden, the aforementioned, is a unique case of the right combination of physical factors, lots of sun exposure on the Southwestern face of the ravine, artificially higher soil temperature, and an adjacent rock wall with placed tree branches all lend for a more enhanced growing environment. However, in the village many houses grow pumpkins and gourds in similar, albeit not city gas line enhanced garden spaces. Perhaps they don't start as early, but their success is just as equal, evident in the abundance of pumpkins found in the summer and fall months. As for the gourd trellis or pergola of the Hill Top Tea-House Garden, that is one unique architectural case within the village, though just as plentiful are the pumpkins so are the gourd vines growing out of plan potters next to houses.



### 5.2.2 Cabbages

Cabbages (*Brassica oleracea* var. *capitata*) are an important staple of the Korean diet. Kimchi's core ingredient is none other than cabbage. In the village both Napa (Californian) and the Chinese varieties are found. Cabbages are a plant that is best grown in cool temperatures thus often grown in the early spring or mid to late fall. They are also a nutrient rich plant that provides a lot of dietary needs. Hence a popular plant anywhere (Farmers Almanac, 2016).

Many gardens show signs of harvestable cabbage plants by mid to late-March and early April as well as in the fall but also all even during the hot summer season as well. Part of this owes to the Styrofoam Hangari's. These containers, which cool the soil temperature to a degree are also transportable to the shade and or other cooler spots. On many site visits, even on days where the mercury reached over 30°C, leafy and abundant cabbages could be seen growing in the box. What's more interesting is that cabbages are best grown in rows and each plant separated by 30 to almost 60 cm distance. Cabbage requires an abundance of water and soil nutrients, and grows larger when given some space (Farmers' Almanac). Yet here dense crops are seen, packed tightly into the Styrofoam containers.

It was on one last field visit in late June, at the young artists' collective now residing in the former 버들나무가게 or "Willow Tree Store" where the topic of cabbage came up. The new and all under 30 residents have taken over the house and store from the previous owner, he passed away in the winter, and also his gardens. They harvested his fall cabbage in time for their own 김장, "kimjang", or kimchi making event (see Appendix A

for more information), often held in October or November. They also took over his wife's Styrofoam crates with cabbage as well. On my way out of the maeul, along the street there was another such collection of crates in the shade, with cabbages abounding out. Cabbage is an important staple in the Korean diet, without it no kimchi (Visit Korea, 2016).

### 5.2.3 Red Peppers

It's a little comical how something like a plant becomes such a topic of national pride, so much so that one comes to associate the plant with the culture. The history of red pepper, *Capsicum annuum*, 고추 (or *gochu*) of the Korean variety is much debated. Why it is debated? Who knows? Sometimes people like to wrongly assign culture and history to food and plants for political and nationalistic reasons. Hummus is just hummus, the red pepper doesn't care whose flag it grows under. Kwan et al (2014) argue that the red pepper of Korea is an indigenous plant to the Han Peninsula. They cite early writing from the Goryeo period of "The Chronicles of the Three States" 1145 AD, as evidence of pre Columbus cultivation of red peppers. Also citing the early history of Korea's past-time, kimchi, from "The Book of Odes" a 500 BCE document written in Chinese as proof of the early existence of the plant in Korea (Kwon, Jang, Yan, & Chung, 2014). Other research from Japan supports the hypothesis that the red pepper was brought in with the *Nanban* (南蛮) or barbarians from the south. The term refers not only to the people, traders from Portugal, the Netherlands and other parts of Europe that made contact and traded with Japan but also to a type of cuisine that developed in Japan during Tokugawa Shogunate (Soyinfocenter, 2009). The term's origins are in China when the Spanish and Portuguese

had first sailed to the “Middle Kingdom”, which in Confucian ideology was thought of as being surrounded by the four barbarian lands. Owing to the Iberian and Lusitanian hue, they were assumed “Southern” by the fair-skinned “enlightened” Chinese of the era (Goodman, 2013). It is documented though that these Portuguese “barbarians” introduced new crops to the Japanese island where they would eventually be quarantined, cayenne pepper (Itoh, 2015). The debate surrounding the origins of peppers in Asia, especially Korea, will long go on, and forbid I should suggest from Japanese sources that it may just be an ecological pioneer, and not a “native” plant.

I’m not one to argue, it doesn’t matter. My kimchi is made from a variety of red pepper that might as well be indigenous to Korea, as is my hummus to Israel. Plants don’t equal politics. I’m not even sure if the people of Kaemi-Maeul would care of such debate. They have better things to do with their time. Why is it the non-gardening classes always make a fuss out of things. The rest of the world is too busy living their lives, maybe more people should garden. Well that is an aside.

In Kaemi-Maeul the red pepper features very prominent in the villages gardens. Not that enough is grown for making the all treasured and often more expensive per gram than beef, red pepper powder, there is still plenty of the plant to be seen around. The most common place for these plants to grow in the village is in any of the road side plant potter gardens.

The peppers in the village are for the most part planted in late April or early May and sprout rather quickly. On interesting example is house 129-34. On one spot where the spinach had grown and been plucked no long after the last snow of the season, in the same spot just a couple of months later stood three rows of peppers, both green and red with fruit

lengths measuring on average four to five centimeters with a plant height of twenty-five to thirty centimeters.

### 5.2.4 Spinach

Spinach is a hardy plant, it can be grown twice a year in the fall and in the late spring or summer. Spinach in Kaemi-Maeul features in many of the Madang gardens. It is harder to see on the steeper side of the ravine and is more common on the side of the village where there is space to grow. One such house with room for more than just a view, is N<sup>o</sup> 129-34. The house directly above the Kyungrodan also had the most luxuriant spinach garden in the village.



*Image 5-19: House No 134-29's spinach garden in the process of harvesting on March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2016 Before the photo was taken the whole area from mid ground to foreground was covered in spinach.*

On this day, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the owner a frequent but not always member of the seniors' centre was in the process of harvesting her crop. Just one week prior I had visited the centre and her garden but not noticed the spinach. How I missed such a find is beyond

me, sometimes we get too focused on our narrow research subjects that we miss the larger picture. If some Korean television show had not been filming in the centre that day I would perhaps have never come upon this garden nor paid much attention to the owner. It was by chance that upon approaching the centre I heard a shout from one of the men telling me to come on up. This day the residents were gathered around a wood fire in the yard (dirt patch) near the garden perched above the centre watching semi-interestedly in the commotion of the day. Young actors and actress being pampered and preening for filming and production crew scurrying back and forth in the narrow space that is the gap between the retaining wall of the house above, the garden and then the centre itself. More surprising was the reaction of the film crew people to see me, conversing so casually and comfortably with the original tenants of the property, as if I were some local. The owner of the house and the spinach garden didn't have much time for this, she was busy plucking her plants from the shale gray and near sooty ground that is the soil of her garden.

As it was still March, I was perplexed as to how spinach could have already sprouted. When asked she simply said that she planted the spinach in the fall of last year before the winter. That was it. When asked about how she tended the garden and such, there was no answer as if it were nothing. She had a near nonchalance about the whole enterprise. As if the spinach grew wild and dependably every year. Perhaps she is just lucky? Gardening is a lot about luck, trial and error, and then more luck. The gardener is at the whims of nature. If she has a secret, I can't unearth it. She is a reluctant participant though, less eager to engage with my questions. There is always such an informant in the study group. It perhaps could have to do with her daughter's Downs-Syndrome, or not, but I noticed a bit of unease when her daughter was nearby, on the mother's part.

If her methods are representative of the whole village's that's debatable, and again, probably not, but her methods demonstrate an understanding of the particularities of the environment that she lives in and manages. Much like the pumpkin garden down the road, her spinach garden reflects an intimate understanding of place, soil, seasons and conditions suited to her little lump on the planet earth.

### 5.2.5 Lettuce

Lettuce (*Lactuca sativa*) is a common vegetable in the maeul. It probably owes its ubiquity to the fact that lettuce can be grown quick, and grown long, yielding a nutrient and anti-oxidant rich leafy green until late in the end of season. The two most common varieties in the maeul are butter head and romaine. Both varieties are cold hardy and can be grown early in the spring (Pleasant, 2009). The soil in Kaemi-Maeul though is not optimal for lettuce growing. Lettuce likes a loamy soil, a soil that is well drained but still can retain moisture well enough to supply the water sucking plant (Farmers Almanac, 2013). Most of the gardens in the village sit on the Gwanag series, which is well drained, but hardly loamy. For the gardens that lack the original loam, such as in the Madang gardens on the Eastern and Western slopes of the ravine, the gardeners have over years by directly throwing food wastes into the gardens, sometimes after every meal, built up a quality of soil sufficient to grow the plant. The other work around is planting the lettuce in Styrofoam boxes and similar type boxes. One such garden is the Pump House. As lettuce grows best in partial-sun, with a moist soil, the Pump-House's unique location tucked against a rock-face outcropping and using the building as well for shade, provides an optimal setting for growing. On a May 31st site-visit, after continuous site visits with no sign of garden

activity, the Styrofoam boxes were overflowing with romaine leafs. Some Styrofoam boxes are for cabbages, others for lettuces. These industrial and chemical component heavy artifices make for a versatile garden tool and space.

### 5.2.6 Potatoes & Sweet Potatoes

Perhaps no other plant, aside from pumpkins and gourds are as suited to the soils topography that surround the landscape of the gardens in Kaemi-Maeul. Potatoes like a sandy soil that is well drained but still require enough moisture to thrive. In addition they like an acidic soil, not a problem considering the physical properties of the Gwanag series (Farmers Almanac, 2013).

A garden that featured both types of potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*) and (*Solanum tuberosum*), sweet and the regular white baking potato, N°129-2, started their crop in mid-April. The baking potato crop was placed under a mound with a black plastic covering with holes allowing for the vines and leaves to protrude and grow out of. One row held the potatoes and the other the sweet potatoes. Sweet potatoes require much more space than regular potatoes and also a different soil type, with a neutral pH (Farmers' Almanac, 2016). By June the plants were still not ready for harvesting but according the gardener were getting close. The gardener's sister also scorned her for planting the sweet potatoes and the squash so close together.

The Willow Tree Store had much less success with potatoes than House N° 129-2. On July 2<sup>nd</sup> the house-mates held a Potato Party, harvesting their crop. Though they had managed to grow many, the sizes were smaller than normal, many at no more than 3 or 4

cm in diameter. They did not grow sweet potatoes and in their discussion of the history of the house and gardens did not mention the previous owners, whom I had met and spoken with at times, growing sweet potatoes. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Willow Tree House has less sun exposure than the House N<sup>o</sup> 129-2 and this could have lead to the decision to not grow this plant. Also potatoes require ample sun which could explain the small sizes produced.

### 5.2.7 Beans

*“MEANWHILE MY BEANS, the length of whose rows, added together, was seven miles already planted, were impatient to be hoed, for the earliest had grown considerably before the latest were in the ground; indeed they were not easily to be put off. What was the meaning of this so steady and self-respecting, this small Herculean labor, I knew not. I came to love my rows, my beans, though so many more than I wanted. They attached me to the earth...”<sup>16</sup>*

Beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) grow easy, maybe that is why Henry David-Thoreau chose them to experiment with in *Walden*. Beans like a loamy soil yet the types found in the maeul, are a well-drained slightly acidic soil that is much coarser and pebbly. However, they also don’t require much work. Thoreau’s labour was far from Herculean, all beans (pole beans) require is a small trellis or some sort of support for their vines to cling to and grow up (Cornell University Gardening Guide, 2006).

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<sup>16</sup> A Quote from Thoreau’s *Walden*, Chapter 7, on beans.





*Image 5-20: The Kyungrodan's bean trellis in May.*

In Kaemi-Maeul the most common material for the bean trellis is often a make-shift weaving of thin plastic ropes or twine, often on the roof gardens or small box gardens. Beans do require full sun and perhaps this is also a factor in determining where beans are grown. Many of the so called trellises observed in were always in the South facing direction, in places where there was no shade.

The Kyungrodan has a trellis system more evocative of the surrounding landscape, it is made from actual branches and thin bits of timber fastened together with metal wires dangling as the climbers. As beans grow in the mid-summer the thesis research does not include observations of fully grown let alone flowering bean plants.

## 5.2.8 Sunflowers

Sunflowers (*Helianthus*) are a less common but culturally significant plant in the village for some reason. In Korea it is also historically known as 향일화(向日葵) and one of the earliest informants, the now deceased owner of the “Willow Tree Store” I simply called the Sunflower Halbae (grandfather) (두산백, 2015). He was the previous owner of the garden with the large sunflower patch, directly adjacent to the sunflower wall mural. Sunflowers require full sun and a soil that is a bit sandy and loose due to their long tap roots. It is also recommended that they be planted from seed after the last frost has passed at a 15cm spacing (Farmers’ Almanac, 2016). During an interview with the new residents of the Sunflower Halbae’s house, the “Willow Tree Store” one informant, Jungwon, said the previous owner used the sunflowers for making sunflower seed oil. When I had observed the sunflowers in the garden last year the Sunflower Halbae had them growing in neat rows, very orderly. Now the current owners, of which Jungwon was the primary gardener, was growing the sunflowers in a much less orderly arrangement. His garden was much less orderly, with things grown densely, tomatoes and potatoes and sunflowers all together, no rows. He claimed his attempt at making sunflower seed oil was a failure and he would try again. His garden is in a less than optimal location for sunflowers as it has a Northwesterly aspect and being tucked into the western side of the ravine, which has a steeper slope it received much more shade than other gardens. Yet as of June 18<sup>th</sup>, his sunflowers stood a nearly 1 meter in height.

Many of the houses in the village have at least one sunflower bloom painted in the wall somewhere. The mural artists chose the sunflower as a common motif in many of the

paintings. Sunflowers also do well in the soil types that support the maeul. What the cultural or agricultural significance of sunflowers represents is not fully known yet.

### **5.2.9 Others**

Other common species found in the village are egg-plant, tomatoes, Chinese apricot trees, date trees, blackberry, kale, green onions, and onions. There are definitely more plant species grown either for food or material and cultural purposes but to include a complete exhaustive list is not possible in the time frame and scope of this thesis project. No garden nor gardener is the same, and some gardeners have their own special preferences for plantings.

Some residents, especially the ones that long ago opted for apartment living and now just “vacation” in the maeul only keep ornamental gardens with flowers and flowering plants. On interview with the son of a long-time resident, now living in an apartment in a distant neighbourhood informed me that he just brings his mother to the maeul on the weekends in the summer so she can tend her flowers.

### 5.3 FIELD DATA ANALYSIS & INTERPRETATION

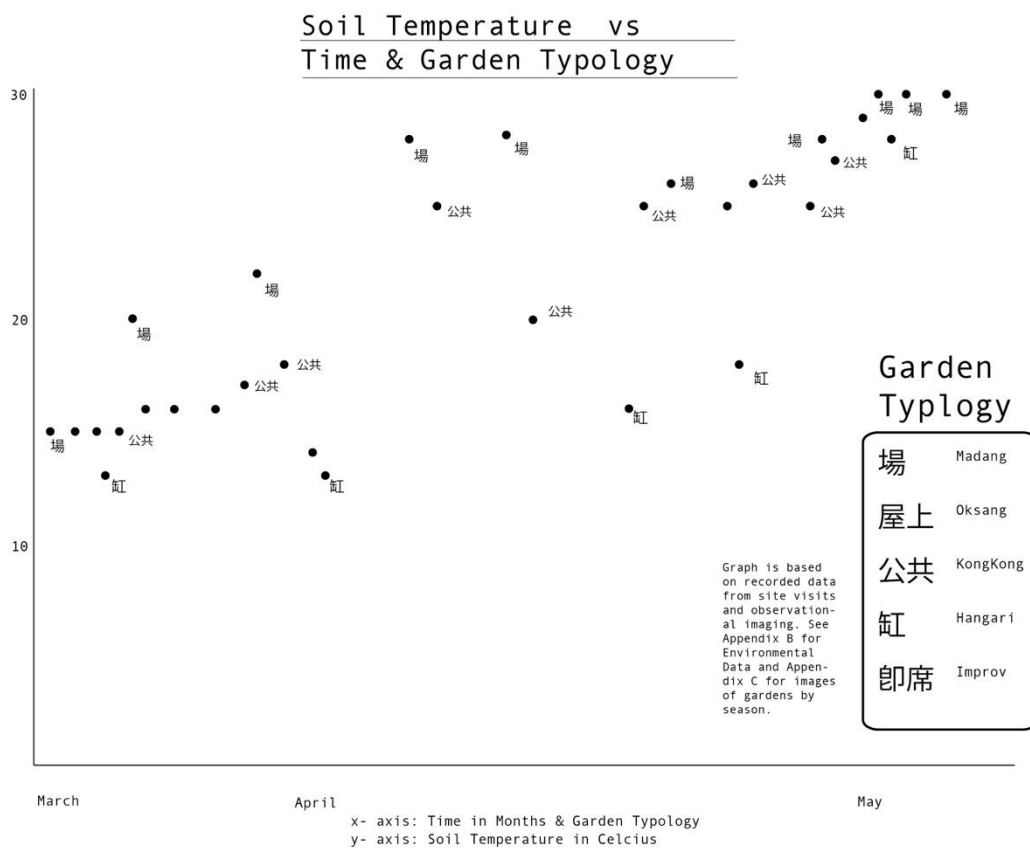


Figure 5-10: Soil Temperature per Garden Typology & Time. The soil temperature is recorded for each garden based on typology and time.

The various garden types demonstrate characteristics reflective of their materials of composition and location relative to a structure or topography. The most calling example is the Hangari (缸) typology, or the garden made out of either a Styrofoam container or some form of plastic box. This typology shows a significantly lower soil temperature than other gardens by an average of 2 °C throughout the season. The Hangari typology is often

used for growing vegetables such as lettuce, cabbage and green onions. These are all species that require a certain level of moisture maintained in their soils, and also require the ability to be kept in partial shade. Since this typology is portable as well as most often found directly adjacent to a structure this makes it an interesting adaptation of non-conventional materials for situational gardening needs, reflecting an intimate understanding of the local conditions and landscape by the gardeners. The most prominent of this typology being the Styrofoam boxes placed on the recessed path in front of the pump house is a perfect example of such inventiveness and appropriation of non-sanctioned nor non-traditional gardening space for purpose of growing plants.

The Madang (幢) and KongKong (公共) both show similar soil temperatures as the season progresses, this owes to both being a garden situated in the landscape directly either as a personal house garden or a garden for public use or on public land in the latter's case. Both gardens are physical interventions into the landscape through the act of clearing an area and growing things to eat. In many cases the KongKong, aside from the Kyungrodan's two gardens, are located on the steep slopes or in left over spaces not fit for development. The steepness of the slope and slope aspect also could contribute to having higher soil temperatures. Most of these gardens are found on the South and South-East slopes in the maeul.

In this study Oksang (屋上) gardens temperatures were not recorded as they were not accessible to the researcher during the research period. Most probably their soil temperatures are a bit higher as they are in the most direct sunlight. The Oksang typology also more commonly is used for growing non-edible plants and is mostly used for storing ornamental plants.

Each of the garden types has specific characteristics and it is the understanding of these characteristics that influences both how they are used as gardens and what is gardened in them. The residents in the maeul demonstrate their landscape understanding through the application of having various typologies within the maeul for increasing their species diversity and crop yield.

Whether using plastic tarps covering the area planted for by knowing what is underground causing an increase in soil temperature (in the case of the gas line under the Pumpkin House garden), gardeners are able to grow certain plants, such as spinach and lettuces, faster and earlier in the season than had they just relied on the constant atmospheric reality.

## **5.4 LANDSCAPE MANAGEMENT & GARDENS**

The management of a garden is the most important work a gardener does. Gardens are an exercise in managing the earth, with meticulous detail and patience. The gardens and gardeners of the maeul most definitely have their unique ways of managing their lots there are however a few larger themes that can be observed based on interviews with the various gardeners. House N°129-2 only tends their garden twice or three times per week at best. Owing the busy day to day requirements of life such as work, family and such, she said her time available to garden is limited. She also said she is sometimes not sure what is a weed and what is a plant so she just plucks anything that “doesn’t fit.”

The Kyungrodan has a more democratic and communal approach to gardening. The men are required to do the heavy lifting, the initial planting and the construction of the

required structures required for growing certain plants. The women tend to the watering, weeding, and harvesting of the gardens. There is a clear division of labour based on sex in the garden life of Kaemi-Maeul, except for the odd garden where one man is either the sole gardener or main gardener. In general women are the primary gardeners, with men being called in from time to time for brute muscle.

Another common theme in the garden management in the maeul is the material used for constructing the garden spaces. Nearly all gardens use local material, either discarded roofing and building materials, metal sheeting, old tires and such for the building materials of their garden walls or raised beds and similar forms. These structures are then filled with soil, that is a mixture of what is close by, and what is imported.

The management of the soil is another important aspect of the landscape management in the maeul. Since the gardens are mostly located on inadequate soil series the gardeners have adopted several methods for improving their garden's soil conditions. The direct and constant disposing of food wastes, nearly all food wastes, from vegetables, fruit peels, shrimp and crab shells, clams and other bi-valve shell fish, even at times the charcoal briquette ashes from the furnace<sup>17</sup> contributes to creating an almost new soil series type, artificially at the micro-scale.

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<sup>17</sup> The new and young (23 years old) gardener at the "Sunflower Halbae / Willow Tree Store" said he learned this practice from a friend who lives in a southern province but that also another local resident told him it was a common practice.



*Image 5-21: Sunflower Halbae or Willow Tree Store garden in winter. The new owner placed used charcoal briquettes in the garden to improve soil quality in the spring.*

## **5.5 Memories & Gardening**

There is an ethos in the maeul, at least it appears as such, that gardening is a way of life. It is a way of life but not necessarily the whole life. Part of the survey posed questions to the residents such as, where did you first learn to garden? And when did you first learn to garden? It was expected that nearly every respondent would say, “early in life, far far away in the rural places from whence we came.” The results, like a good garden, were much more diverse and dynamic.

Any middle-school student with a rudimentary knowledge of math would note that the surveys employed in the study are not large enough in number to be statistically



significant as a representative sample of the whole village. They were never meant to be, the surveys were first just a way to promote the research and spread the word amongst the villagers, second an attempt to meet people while I passed them out. At best the surveys offer a glimpse into a portion of the gardens and their tenants in Kaemi-Maeul. The results showed some people learned to garden later in life, well into their thirties. Though none of the respondents listed their place of birth as Kaemi-Maeul, some said it was the place where they learned to garden. This is surprising for the fact that it was assumed that many would have all learned to garden from their parents or immediate family back in their respective places of origin. Rather, many respondents said they learnt to garden not from relatives, rather either simply through their own trial and error, or from neighbours. It was also through many informal interviews and passing conversations that the maeul residents spoke of how they would learn one thing, or something specific about their very garden and then when another resident is passing by, share such information. Many when asked, how and where did you learn to garden, responded that they picked up the hobby or fever later in life. One such person is Lee C-D. He and his wife are new residents to the maeul. They purchased house N° 129-2, deciding that apartment life was no longer for them, after their children had moved out. He spoke of his early childhood life in Chongpa-dong (청파동), before the apartment blocks were constructed. He recalled the idyllic scenes of the small wooden Japanese-style colonial houses, with gardens and walls and trees of his youth and his longing to return to such a lifestyle and a landscape. He and his wife together kept the garden on their free weekends, when they fixed up the interior of the house. Gardening for them was a later-in-life practice. He said that the impetus to garden largely had to do with the surrounding landscape. The maeul was a place of gardens, a community of gardens.

The gardens functioned as more than just resources, the gardens were also a force within the landscape, a force that brings community together, a force that urges a life of tenancy on the land.

Some residents spoke of memories from the old places they lived, but many, if not most, gardening was something that, for them, originated in Kaemi-Maeul. Their memories of gardening were not from a place a far, rather the very place they had been gardening all along. The very place their ongoing experiment in landscape management and agriculture began and continues.



*Image 5-22: House No 129-2's garden in late May looking up the hill with Kyungrodan garden in far distance.*

## Chapter 6

### 6.1 DISCUSSIONS & CONCLUSIONS

The residents of Kaemi-Maeul that garden of any sort or degree all employ resourceful and intelligent adaptations to their economic and environmental conditions to produce gardens that have a meaningful cultural and monetary value. The gardens reflect common gardening practices shared by many Koreans and observable in any garden throughout the Han Peninsula, however the gardens demonstrate a unique understanding of their specific landscape and all its peculiarities.

Furthermore, Kaemi-Maeul is a place of transmitting and sharing landscape understanding through the act of gardening. Whether it is a long-time resident sharing their way of doing things with another person or a new resident now learning for themselves by trial and error, it is through the act of gardening that landscape knowledge is both gained and shared. We have much to learn from this place.

Whereas, Spirn (2005) documents her 10 year ethnographic and educational programme at Mill Creek in West Philadelphia for the purpose of introducing landscape literacy to an area where the people had little to no knowledge of the underlying natural processes of the place, in Kaemi-Maeul, rather the residents have a deep understanding. They are highly literate in their landscape. Similarities do exist between both places. In both Mill Creek and Kaemi-Maeul, both could be said to be “a catalogue of the failures 20<sup>th</sup> century urban policy, planning and design.” Both neighbourhoods are home to people who live on the margins, or slopes of society, both impoverished and neglected, despite the

good intentions often spent by outsiders and outside forces (Spirn 2005). However there still remains stark differences between the lifestyles of the residents in both communities respectively. The answer to this question is one not to be answered here, yet it still poses an interesting question as to why and how such a difference can occur. Perhaps it has to do with topography, culture, history and a whole set of other complex variables. In the case of Kaemi-Maeul, it is the landscape researcher that has much to learn from the residents on landscape understanding, not the other way around.

## **6.2 ETHNOGRAPHY IN LANDSCAPE PRACTICE, AFTERTHOUGHTS**

The ethnographic method has many advantages to offer when conducting any sort of landscape research or practice. As a profession that operates with a Hippocratic oath of do no harm to the planet, ethnography allows for the practitioner to gain a deeper and more holistic understanding of a landscape through not only physical and measurable phenomena, also the things that are not directly visible such personal stories, understandings and emotions that pertain to a specific place. As the discipline operates on ever more complex and large scale projects, projects which have the potential to affect larger populations and the landscape and with a more significant impact it is important to gain as much pertinent information as possible to avoid any damage or undesirable outcomes as result of our actions. Ethnography, specifically a method tailored to doing a “landscape ethnography,” offers an additional tool to the already heavy kit landscape architects use in practice, yet it does not require learning any new technology or specific skill set. It just requires learning to listen, observe and be persistent and patient.

A good landscape ethnography should account for the following factors, the typography and geologic conditions such as geology, soil and the atmosphere of the place, then the vegetation and ecological reality based on the geology, and finally and most importantly, the people and how they are shaped by and shape the landscape through their practices and understanding of the place they live. The best way to understand this is to study their gardens. How do they use the soil to grow what and how and when? A consistent dedication to the method will result in observing specific acts and rituals that reflect the informant's, the person in the landscape being studied, understanding of their landscape. A thorough landscape ethnography provides a clear and detailed picture of a landscape as possible, through the landscape idea, that defines what it is to be a human in a more than human world. It is only possible where there is landscape to conduct an ethnographic study on; that is a place where the people have a certain degree of landscape literacy in the Spiri sense.

### **6.3 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS**

The limitations on this research are many and obvious. The researcher is not a native speaker of Korean. At best my grasp is near fluent, but there are always subtle meanings and nuances that are missed. Furthermore, the time spent in the gardens of Kaemi-Maeul was only spread out over four seasons on the Korean year and not all were spent gardening. Furthermore, it was not possible to gain access to all the gardens in the village for many reasons, nor would it be feasible for the study. Other limitations that occurred during the research period were the sudden illness of informants, an informant

abruptly moving and thus losing contact with the researcher and others just dropping out of the project half-way either for lack of time or interest. Soil chemistry was not analyzed during the study either, thus the exact pH and chemical components of the soil are not known for each of the gardens used in the research.

## **6.4 CONCLUSIONS**

Landscape ethnography is an essential method for gaining the fullest and deepest understanding of a landscape that goes beyond mere scientific data and analysis. The method is applicable for nearly any scale of project. Further research on the use of ethnography in landscape and the methods and products of landscape ethnography should be conducted in our field. Landscape ethnography not only has the potential to provide a further substitute to the metrics employed in our practice but also a methodology for approaching the design process.

The amount and depth of information obtainable depends on several factors, the most important being time. The length of time and the frequency of site visits influence to a significant degree the level of information that the ethnographer will gather. The second most important aspect is the attitude and personality of the ethnographer, a humble and polite researcher will get the invitations and open doors required to gain access to people and gardens.

## Epilogue

This concludes a year's worth of research and study. During this time I've learned more about myself than any gardens. One thing not often mentioned in the field of ethnography is how much the ethnographer, no matter how objective nor distanced they are, is eventually influenced by the culture and people being studied. During this past year, I have attempted to maintain a safe and respectable scientific distance from the landscape of Kaemi-Maeul and the people in it, however, during the process of conducting a landscape ethnography, I have in many ways changed as a result of interacting with both, the landscape and people. It is impossible not to, no researcher can not have their "Dances with Wolves" moment, when spending so much time in a place with a people. Anyone who is not changed by such a process maybe need to check to see if they have blood in their veins for synthetic-oil, though even some machines can learn these days. Perhaps this is the most important conclusion of this research process, I am changed. At the time of publication, I have made preparations to return to rural New England, family in tow, for a life less distracted by the noise that is Seoul. If it should please the Creator of all Things that I am bestowed such a grace, we plan on living in our own landscape and developing our own landscape understanding, through gardening.

**The End**

## Indexes & Appendix

### Appendix A: Field notes from Kami-Maeul

#### Field Notes: August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015

YK and I are probably stupid. We have both decided that digital is a waste of time and we should stick to analog and old fashioned methods. We met at Kyung-bok-gun Station KBG and then moved towards the village. First we met at the coffee bean and tea leaf for coffee and took off. It is hotter than all get out and we decided to go walking. Eitherway, we arrived at hongjae station and walked to the village. After getting lost, and stumbling around we eventually get to our desitation. I notice that there is a pumpkin valley festival in the neighbourhood. I wonder what that means. It feels like stepping back in time. We, with the aid of digital navigation, via our cell phones finally find our way to the village.

It is a one hot and hard climb up the hill. I'm amazed at how steep the village road is. The houses are practically perched on a cliff, a green cliff. The village appears to be so lush. My first impressions were of the green and the steep. I knew that my naver search for this place was a good idea and that it would be worth the schlep. It is too hot for us to spend much time so we just take some photos and grab something cool in the neighbourhood store. I get my usual pocari. We go back to Gangnam for supper.

#### Field Notes: August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2015

This time Young-Kyu and I took the bus from Hong-jae Station. We did a little background research first before we arrived. There is a maeul-bus that goes straight to the top of the village. This is probably a good decision. It's hotter than hells bells these days. We also decided to take our analog cameras. YK has a Minolta x-300 and I brought my Minolta x-700. I'm not sure if the X-700 is in working condition. I will have to see after the photos are developed. I noticed the lens is rather fuzzy in the view finder and the shutter seems weird. What ever. We stick to the main road and don't venture too far into the village itself. I decide to take it slow with introducing myself and explaining my research. I mean I don't even fully know yet what I'm going to do, but I know it has something to do with this village, so best to keep it close to the chest for now.

I do notice a lot of other younger people just strolling through the village taking pictures, looking like hipster idiots. On our descent from the top I noticed a gentleman standing next to some type of small tree or shrub, adjacent to a sunflower patch. This sunflower garden must be why there is a sunflower mural on the nearby wall. I decide to just go out on limb and start talking to him. I ask him what this plant is, I don't quite catch the name, He spoke



too fast. He says it is used for some type of tea. It is about 2 meters high with small sharp oval leaves that are glossy on the top and spaced at a low-density interval. It sits right under some other taller tree, maybe a prunus and is in shade at this time of 3:37 pm. The man, in his late 50s or early 60s, has a jovial demeanor and engages rather well with me in conversation about his garden. He stands no more than 170cms and is wearing shorts with a short-sleeve orange on white striped shirt. His hair is graying but still thick, his skin tanned. He must either work out doors or spend time out doors. I probably look like a poncy ghost to him. :P His companion another man of similar age but with black hair, perhaps dyed, comments me on my Korean and asks the usual question of my origins. I use this opportunity to introduce myself and explain my research, studying their gardens. The man, I'll call him sunflower Halbae agrees to pose for a photo-op. As we are doing this, some passer-byers, a young couple, a woman in mid 20s, wearing a blue skirt with a white blouse, an almost sailor-moon quality to her clothes and appearance, along with her equally stereotypical boy-mate, stop and stare at the scene of a non-Korean talking to elderly residents about their gardens. It does seem hilarious when I think about it.\*\*

\*\* addendum as of 9/1/2015 the Minolta photos did not develop well. Some images from the surrounding Hongjae-dong neighbourhood did develop but the one's in the village did not. The shutter speed was not set to the right timing to match the lighting conditions and there was too much over-exposure on some images and under-exposure on others. I will return with the Nikon FM2 the next time.

### **Field Notes: August 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

YK and I are back, this time sans film camera. We take the bus again, it's nearly 30°C today, it's mid August and hotter still. Though YK is wearing pants and long sleeves and a cardigan. I don't Koreans sometimes, seriously it's the peak of summer and this is his clothing? Furthermore, we spend very little time in the village. There isn't much else different. So we depart early and head to Hyoja-Dong. Nothing visibly different in the gardens along the road, nor in the vegetation. We leave and spend the day in Hyoja-dong. Nice art galleries.

### **Field Notes: September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

Return, visit, alone. Just took photos, nothing drastically different at this time. More touristy type people. I think I heard Chinese. Lots of young people taking photos with the murals. Noisy dogs.

### **Field Notes: September 13<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

This visit I decided to bring the wife and kid. We were staying at the in-laws so the trip wasn't such a burden from Shitlim-dong. A quick trip on line 6 then one transfer at yakso. We brought the stroller, some snacks and Leah and off we went. The weather was a bit

cooler than normal but still hot for me. The wife bundled up, typical Korean and bundled Leah up too. The sun was bright as heck. We took the bus, Leah calls it little Rogie, after the cartoon character, up to the top of the hill. We wanted to go to the tea-house but it was too far up the stairs. I run into the grandmother that lives at the house at the top of the hill, next to the bus stop. She shoed me away the first time, but she says Leah is very cute, though, and says her garden isn't that interesting, despite the neatly arranged cabbage patch that I see. Either way she tells us there is a tea-house at the top of the hill. We pass, the stroller is too much to carry with Leah. Her cabbage is the brightest green, bubbly green shimmering against the white of her walls and the grayish-brown of the soil. She says no to a photo, and instead retreats into her house.

We walk on down the road. EunJu complains about the hill, the smell and says she would never live here. Mothers always have a different set of priorities when it comes to places to live. Leah like the village though. She was especially fond of the sunflowers and all the mung-mungs. I should bring her again.

### **Field Notes: September 26<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

Came again with YK, no major differences noticed. I need to get more access to the gardens.

### **Field Notes: October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

This visit was a bit more interesting. I came with YK and on our trip we did the usual, except we met an elderly couple tending to a road-side garden and behold, they spoke with me. I asked them why they were just peppering the end bits of red-peppers, capsacium, into their garden. They informed me that they plant it now and next year it grows. I mean they just dumped a whole bunch of what looks like to me, compost and then raked over the bits with some soil. I'm not really sure what is going on but it is interesting. The FM2 is in use.

### **Field Notes: October 23<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

The weather is hot again, and again YK is dressed for Canada's winter. Neither here nor there. Today I bring the FM2 again to see what will come out. Despite being nearly the end of October, like a typical Korean fall, at this time things are still lush. We start our day at the top of the village in the tea-house. We finally make it. The cabbage patch grandma was right, a nice spot with a great view. When we first arrive the place looked empty. The entrance way is a pergola of vines of some type of pumpkin species, I later learn gourd, Churungbak, from the proprietor of the tea-house, who emerges from the dark shadows that is the front door of her house. We choose to sit under an umbrella at a picnic table, this place has the best view. The house feels rather familiar, there is lots of tchotchkes and other brick-a-brack, and the wood fire burning suddenly gives me a shot of nostalgia; it's my grandma's house, but in Korea. That's why I like this village. B"H I've been brought here for a reason. We order ice-tea, at 5000W a glass it's a bit steep, but the owner, a woman in

her early 50s with, uncharacteristically long black hair, wearing pants and a red vest. She doesn't look like the typical adjumah, the Korean woman of a certain age and social-class. She is graceful in her movement and speech. An interesting character. I then explain my research and background and she says she is willing to be an informant. I leave her with a card. She then brings me a free sweet-potato, direct from the fire. YK and I have a great snack and talk about the vista. An aging village in the scene, mid-ground Korean apartments and the background, far in the distance, some really tall skyscrapers, all with pepperings of trees and mountains. The modern Korean landscape. A pretty good day.

On our way out of the village I notice lots of the similar vines and other pumpkins. The gourds must have some material use. The owner said they weren't for eating but rather making a type of dish, or vase. I think I saw something like that on the drama Baek-dong-su. The drunken swordsman always had a gourd bottle with soju in it. Either way, many houses have lots of these. One house, below the road surface grade is a pumpkin jungle. I'm not sure if the whole house is not just pumpkin vines. I see a bit of red, then pumpkins.

We walk all the way back to Hong-Jae Station. The neighbourhood is interesting, and also lots of pumpkins. Maybe the name pumpkin valley has a larger meaning? We pass through Yu-Jin Mansion, which I learnt prior was the first apartment building in Korea. The local market has a dog meat dealer. We talk briefly. He is first suspicious of my questioning, I'm sure he's dealt with lots of previous animal, or at least dog rights activists before. I'm neither. If the back faces the heavens, it's good to eat, says my friend Sai-Ho's grandmother in Hong Kong. I'm not sure about that, Jews are fussy eaters, but I'm not here to question his ways, nor scold them. YK and I had lunch at McDonalds.

### **Field Notes: November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

The village is starting to show the signs of fall. The trees are changing colour and the pumpkins mostly appear to be harvested. The tea-house is shuttered. The lady never called me back. I feel so scorned. Surely if a young man comes a calling, he gets a holler back, no? There are still day trippers though, taking photos. Am I one? Does my research intent make me any better than the exploitive tourists? What ever, I'll deal with the ethics later. Fall is setting in the the red peppers all appear to be gone, the gardens are looking bare. It must have tasted good. I wonder if they can veggies in Korea, or if everything just becomes kimchi? Or is kimchi canning?

### **Field Notes: December 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015**

I haven't been in nearly a month, studio gets in the way. I also have just been doing other research for the thesis. I like to prepare early. There still has been no snow yet in Seoul, or at least none that stayed. I'm not sure about KM. I guess I'm not a very good, ethnographer. I also forgot to take my camera. Instead I just doodled a bit in my sketch pad. I was just popping in before meeting YK in KBG-Station. I brought my doodles and doodled some

more. YK and I are working on an EVOLO competition and starting our own firm JRD\_YK. It's fun to dream and pretend.

At our meeting though we talked about KM and maeul-sup and the maeul's in Seoul's history. The idea of a maeul makes good for our competition entry. Soil-coil. We talked about the soil under KM and how the village's ecological composition is largely based on the soil, gwanag and suam series and how that influences the vegetation and thus the other species from animals and then even humans that live in the place. We also talked about the ant-farm like labyrinthine alleys and paths that connect all the houses in the villages. I tell him about the sparse look of the village in winter. Things are looking very brown and gray. The vines are withered, the gardens are left to themselves with the odd bits of coal bricks in them and other food wastes. Aside the village is cold, and quiet. The stream though is still flowing. That's interesting. Aside, everything else is quiet and actually kind of gloomy. There are no day trippers today, except me and my frozen hands, doodling stupid doodles. The only activity I saw was one woman shaking her clothes on the line and one guy smoking. I didn't say anything to either. The lady was too far away and the smoker, not a gardener in my eyes.

### **Field Notes: January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016**

Today I took Manabou, from Japan. He is also studying gardens in Korea, illegal gardens and talks to elderly Koreans, in English, for his research. It was cold as heck today. I mean really cold. It was nearly -15°C today. I bundled up as Canada as I could, he did not have a proper jacket. I'll talk about that later. We took the bus from the village to the bottom of the village. This time we walked up the hill. Today I had brought with me an introduction letter. I need to do some promotion for my research. Spring is coming soon and I need to get gardening and talking more with people or this whole project is going to be a failure. I produced about 50 leaflets introducing myself and the project and asking them to contact me. We placed them strategically in the mailboxes of houses with gardens. We walked up the hill and on the way up, I saw, in the distance a gaggle of people wearing bright blue jumpers. I wonder what was up? It turns out to be a bunch of do-gooder-volunteers, delivering coal briquettes to the elderly houses that don't have city gas. To be honest I've seen no gas lines in the village. Most houses have external gas tanks.

Manabou and I go straight to the top and start there. The Tea-House. The gate is shut and no one in home, so I leave a letter in the bright-red-mail box. I notice a defenbaccia like plant that looks to green and alive to be real. It was plastic along with the roses. Yes, an exact replica of my grandma's house that went through a Korean filter. After that we start down the main road, we take a couple side diversions down little alleys dropping off the leaflets. I meet one gentlemen and had it to him. He seems disinterested. On the way down, I stop at the little "super" in the village. Manabou looks either thirsty or nervous about the crowd of about 50 college aged Koreans gathered around the store eating and drinking corn on the cob and corn tea. They give us looks like, who are these tourists. I start talking to one. He explains they deliver the coal every winter. MNB and I push our way through the do-gooders. May they feel like they've made a difference and share it on their krapkaotalk

story pages with their selfies. Tourists are tourists, no matter what their intent. I talk with the elderly owner of the super. He must be in his 90s. He looks very frail and I think he is taking chemo medication. My old chemist eyes know what chemo drugs look like. Only a couple of companies manufacture them. He says he is too sick to garden any more and can't help me. I buy some corn-water for MNB and we leave. The village is in the full torpor of winter, it's cold, the residents are all inside, burning coal. Only idiot college kids, all of us with our own selfish motives, are dumb enough to be outside on a day like today.

I decided to introduce MNB into the neighbourhood a bit more. Hong-Jae Dong is like stepping back in time. Maybe a time and place when Korea was still a bit rough around the edges, but had a soul to it. Most places in Seoul look like every other place. This place is a time capsule. So I took him to the dog meat vendor. He says the same thing again. Dog meat keeps you healthy and it is ok to eat. He doesn't recognize me, this is like the third time we've met. Then we go into the Yujin Mansion department store on the first floor. MNB needs a winter jacket. There is one place that sells the fashion of Korean men over 50, a style I like. I bought a black v-neck sweater for 20,000 won, MNB got a bright radioactive-puke green hiking jacket with a lining. It said it was gortex too. A warmer jacket for his winter in Korea. He should dress better for field work, visiting illegal mountainside gardens. This concluded our day. We had lunch near the station, some kal-guk-su and then left. We went drinking in Hong-dae. Kaemi-Maeul, is for the most part hibernating, even the stream is frozen. The euonymus is bright red, there are no leaves to be seen. The vines are all brown and flopped over. The gardens have piles upon piles of frozen food wastes, I noticed orange rinds, some months old decomposed watermelon, along with the butts of fags (cigarettes for non English speakers), another garbage strewn in the garden plots. The only difference between now and a month before is it is so cold, I smell the smoke from the houses but not the shit from the out-houses. A common scent in KM is out-house shit. The village is not yet hooked up to the city sewer lines. Today, no poop smell. Even the shit is frozen.

### **Field Notes: February 24<sup>rd</sup>, 2016**

I went alone today, I don't go so often these days. It's winter and the gardens all look the same. I'm also in the stages of theory research and actually figuring out how to do an ethnographic research of gardens. I've been developing a survey and studying how this is all done. No visible changes today.

### **Field Notes: February 29<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Today I got up early and met Yong-Dong at Boramae Hospital. He is a transportation major and he is researching bus stops. This is one of his research sites. There is also a bus that goes direct to Hongjae-Station from here. We meet at 9:45 am and after a quick photographing of the bus stop head on out. It is really really really cold today and a wet cold. Worse than the month before the MNB. At least I'm wearing my winter field outing clothes again. Long-johns, a down parka and my super warm gloves and a hat. YoungDong

is in just a jacket. I don't get Koreans. They dress like is winter in the summer and like the summer in the winter. I still get a kick out of the girls in mini-skirts and high-heals on days like today. In Saskatchewan the marrying type is the woman in a ski-doo suit. She has a brain to dress the kids for the weather. Well, the things we do for finding mates. I've done my share of stupid things, including wearing dumb clothes. Now I wear hiking boots everywhere. Neither here nor there. I should stop rambling in this FN.

The bus ride is interesting we pass by NodelSOM, on DongjakDaekyu, no wait, YD said it was a different bridge and different island. That's right this island is off limits and is an ecological bird sanctuary. It looks like a shallow island in the middle of the river with too many salix trees. I didn't see any birds. I'm not an ornithologists that is Jared D., not Jarod G. We arrived at KM at around 11:45. I've started to develop a typical route, I go to the top, visit the tea house, my leaflet is still in the mail box. I decide not to leave a survey. Today is my survey distribution day. I have made 40 surveys with self-addressed postage paid envelopes to be distributed to gardening houses in the village. I drop my first one off at the house above the tea house. YD and I then make our way down the hill. This time not on the main road but rather, through the winding paths that go between the houses. We go down to the end of the road where the main road forks into two and head on up. On the way YD says he needs to shit and heads into the public bathroom. A new building. The city has made a public park with very nice facilities. This bathroom is heated! While he's getting rid of his wastes, I notice a woman pop out of a building. The sign says Kyungrodan in Korean. I have no idea what that means. I introduce myself and my research and he takes my survey. She says come back on a Wednesday around 11:30 and there will be people gathered for lunch. They are more than willing to help me in my research. SongGONG! (success in Korean). After that YD emerges from the bathroom and a familiar village smell come back. One I haven't smelt since October. Heat and shit are a bad combination. They should have kept the bathroom cold.

The village is frozen and now it is snowing. A fluffy snow, there is no moisture in the air and it is cold. Perfect powder for skiing, horrible to walkng around. YD and I make our way through the villages paths and such and there is so much ice. My favourite cat, the one from the Tea-House greets us. How or why she is this far from home I don't know. Maybe the tea house isn't her home. We meander through the village and finally leave. We had lunch at McDonalds. I went to school after that.

### **Field Notes: March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Today was my Kyungro-dan day. I had taken up my previous invitation from two weeks before, and payed a visit to the seniors' centre. It proved to be a wonderful experience both academically and personally. At first I sweated like a pig in a Texan brothel in July, not because it was hot, rather I was so nervous. Stumbling on every word, each syllabus a dropped chance, at least in my mind. They understood me and the oldest resident, a man who was said to be 88 years old, with only one bottom tooth protruding out, proving to be the most willing survey participant. I was introduced to Yun-Sok, a man in his 70s, with a cool look and calm demeanor. He seems to have lived a life well. He is the

kind of person who you know has stories. It is always the quiet ones. He also proves to be a very willing informant.

The seniors' centre has a smoking room for the men and the larger kitchen and eating area is where the women reside. For most of the day I was in the men section. I could hear the women in the background having a jovial time, probably complaining about the men, that they appear to serve like children. I don't know why my species like to be waited upon by the fairer of the two, we have legs and arms. What ever not my issue. It does turn out that my surveys are hard to read for many of the elderly persons. So I had to read them aloud to them. In the end it was successful. I won't jot down the results in detail but quickly summarize. The gardens are mostly made of red peppers, lettuce, spinach and the odd tomato. The residents all say their hometown is the village, but I think this is an error in translation or understanding. I will need to clarify the question at a later time. They say that they all join in gardening as a community and enjoy it for the purpose of communal eating and partying, it is no longer a subsistence diet any more. When asked about when they start gardening, it is in April, when ever the ground is no longer frozen.

After we have spoken about the gardens in the village they invite me to eat. We then move into the larger section and the women, the original person I met, along with a lady with well placed make-up and another. They prepared a fish soup dish along with what appear to be pork-legs. I pass on the pork but eat the fish, the eyes don't bother me one bit. Sea-weed laver along with kimchi and other small dishes are prepared as well. The oldest gentleman offers me a cup of soju. I normally don't drink but I can't say no at this point. So I take the drink and we engage in conversation. They are all rather surprised to hear that I am studying landscape architecture in Seoul. We have a pleasant conversation about gardens and the importance of Kaemi-Maeul's gardens in Seoul. Mr. Yun-Sok is the first to comment that young people don't garden any more and that he is annoyed at the photographing tourists that are always making day trips to the village. Then there is a short consensus of the opinion. It appears the wall murals are more a burden than a blessing. As the time near 3 or 4 I'm not sure anymore, I need to leave. I say my fairwells and exchange numbers with Yun-Sok, or In-Sok, I can't remember. I will have to look at the survey to get his exact name. I've made friends and finally got an in into the gardens of Kaemi-Maeul.

### **Field Notes: March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2016**

I arrived in the village as the clock was nearing half-past twelve. I rode the bus to the top of the village instead of my usual walk up the long winding road that leads to the entrance to Inwangsan Mountain Park. The sky was clear, with moderate cumulonimbus cloud cover and an ambient air temperature of 16° C and near zero humidity. There was a slight wind coming from the east, at intermittent intervals, but mostly the air was still. I departed the small village bus and proceeded to walk up instead of down. I went to the community gathering bench, the typical raised platform found in many villages in Korea, situated under a large tree, where people gather and eat and drink in the relative shade of the canopy. This tree is a mid-life *Prunus*, not too tall, but dark and the bark-covering shows enough weathering to make me think it is at least 45 years old. I took some pictures of this tree then proceeded down the road.

As I was walking down, an elderly couple emerged out of their house, both with canes, well the gentleman with a 9-iron for a cane, proceeding up the road towards the park entrance.

They were going for a hike. I said my politest hello in Korean and they said hello to me. That was that. I passed their house, which happens to be the house next to the stairs that leads to the village top tea house. The proprietor is still not there and the doors are still chained shut. I noticed that the mail is still collecting in the mail box, including one of my surveys. I wonder where she is, my first informant. I take some pictures and note the vegetation as well as take soil temperature at the most accessible garden plot on the stairway-trail that leads to the house. As I do this, two cats acknowledge me and say hello. I recognize these cats and clearly, from their shiny coats they are in good health. The tea house owner may not be open for business yet, she is around somewhere. From this I move on.

I then walk further down the road and stop at house No. 138. This is the house in the fork in the road, the one that leads to the Kyungrodan, where my elderly “drinking buddies” are playing go-stop at this moment. I notice outside the house there are several, almost twenty, plant pots with a medium brown soil, fine texture and clayish mold, all appearing to be readying for some form of planting. Small holes are bored into the soil and there is a canvas sack of soil next to the largest potter. I sample the temperature of the largest potter’s soil, 15° C. It is upon doing this that an elderly woman, who lives down the hill, on her way carrying lunch for a bedridden woman up the hill passes by. I ask her about these potters. Where is the soil from? She tells me that it is sourced from the mountain, Inwangsan Mountain. I ask her if it is new to this year and she says no. It is probably a few years old and has just been reused. She also mentions that the house is for sale and so are the potters. They are being readied for sale. Too bad, this is the house with the stepped gardens. I offer to help carry her bag up the hill. In a usual fashion to people of her age she refuses and says to me thinking I’m just one of the everyday photographers coming to take a quaint picture of the village, “There’s nothing to see up here.” We said our goodbyes. I move to the Kyungrodan. It is here I have much luck with informants.

At the Kyungrodan or Seniors’ Centre I meet two regular faces as I am taking soil temperatures of the front garden. They ask me what I’m doing and I explain. I ask them what this garden is for, they let me know it is just for ornamentals and such and will be planted soon. They do offer new information, there is a vegetable garden at the back of the centre. I did not know this until then. I go back to inspect it and the soil quality looks rather poor. A dry, coarse light grayish soot like soil is speckled with small shells and other food wastes as compost and even other small bits of rubbish. A garden as a compost bin and a garbage can. I ask them about one of my main informants, Yoon Il-sok. He let me know he is busy playing go-stop. I’ll bother him another day. I then proceed to the Buddhist temple and pagoda at the top end of the road. It is silent except for the nearby house’s dogs that bark and growl at my presence. I ready my mechanical pen. The pursuit of knowledge can’t be shaken off by a couple of nasty mutts. The temple has a garden in the parking lot. An interesting raised bed made from roofing tiles and broken cement blocks. The soil, at 20° C is the highest recorded this day. It is also littered with small shells and other rubbish. I even noticed some pine tree branches and needles in the mix. The dogs are getting annoying so I decide to leave a bit quicker. Science can not be shaken but a bit stirred by menacing mutts.

As I walk down the road towards the pump-house I run into one of my early informants. We exchange nods and keep on going. At the pump house I take the temperature in one of the boxes. The time is 1:47 PM and they are in complete shade. The soil is all a light brown fine mix. I discover that the small brick-clad block of a box they are nestled next to is a pump house when I ask an employee from the electric company who just happens to be there. He is asking a local resident to move his car for some reason. They appear to know each other.



Maybe he is also a resident of the village. He appears of the right age. This would be a most fortunate encounter. I then move from the pump-house to the sunflower house. Here the soil is also a light brown and I notice the spent charcoal cylinders used as heating fuel are accumulating in this garden. A disintegrating mass of pale light-brown burnt carbon, melting into the darker brown soil like a sand-castle when waves lap over it. There is also the small shells and bits of trash. A shiny candy wrapper stands out. It is at this moment when I am leaving the gentleman that had just moved his car a bit earlier comes out with a trowel. His house is at the end of the small paved pathway leading past the sunflower house.

I ask him what he is doing. By now it is 2:17, noon has come and going. He says his garden is shared with other people. He has the plot at the end near the road, recessed below grade a granite stone wall retains the earth under the road. His soil is much darker, the darkest I've seen yet with a dusting of a fine medium brown light layer on top. It also looks the most moist. At first he is suspicious of my presence and questioning of what he is doing. He keeps asking what business I am on. After explaining my research purposes he allows me, a bit begrudgingly to observe his pumpkin seed planting. He uses the trowel to make a 3 cm wide trough the width of the garden, about 0.5 cm deep. He then puts the seeds at intervals of 1 to 2 cm apart along this trough and then covers it over with the soil. As he does this a neighbour woman, returning from the market, scolds him for planting too early and not deep enough. He assures her everything is fine. He lets me know that the garden is directly above a city gas line and thus is slightly warmer than the other gardens. He can start a bit early. This is the Pumpkin Garden I first noticed. I finally met the tender of this plot. He has two blackened branches about 100 cm high and a small ladder of no more than two rungs high, leaning against the granite block wall. I ask him what these are for, he lets me know they are for the pumpkin tendrils to cling to as they grow. As he finishes up, I ask him what the tree with branches covered in piping insulation is, it is the Munhwakwa, or Korean National Flower Tree, there is also a date tree. Now it is 2:41. We depart, him still skeptical of my never ending curiosity about his garden. A reluctant friend. I then walk down the road nearing the entrance to the village. I stop at the red pepper house, with their roadside CMU built garden. There are bits of hay strewn around two saplings clothed in PVC piping. The soil is a coarse grayish, with a mix of light and dark gray colouring. I wondering what is coming next here. I then proceed to the Kanji House, the soil is of a similar colouration and looks untended. I guess modern life keeps them too busy for their garden preparations. I take a picture and now I walk back to Hongjae Station. The time is 2:57 and my field visit is complete for today. A success, we got to see how the pumpkin starts its life in Kaemi-Maeul.

### **Field Notes: March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

I'm running a bit late today, I missed the bus from Hongjae-Station as I purchased rice cakes for my new friends in the Kyungrodan. I've been frequenting this place as it has proven to be a good source. I arrive as it is approaching one pm. The sun is high in the sky and there is an ambient temperature of 15 °C with nearly no clouds. I get off the bus at the top of the hill and instead of walking straight to the Tea-House or trying to check in on the elderly woman who always shoos me away, I cut through a side alley and head directly towards the Kynungrodan. As I approach I notice there is activity and nearly 15 to 20 young people swarming the senior centre, coming in and out. At first I think it is some sort of volunteer group or activity but as I approach the centre a voice calls out to me. One of my regulars, a man in his 70s with, though

looks younger as he dyes his hair and always has a wry smile and twinkle in his eye, alerts me to his location, in the house that sits above the centre. He is there with the other seniors. He tells me they've been kicked out for the day. There is a filming on location in their centre. They don't seem annoyed or let on, rather with a quiet curiosity they all are chatting and watching the process of filming. He calls for me to come up and I offer them my rice cakes. They are all surprised and delighted and then scold me in a jovial manner for spending money when I'm a student. The group of about 6, three women are sitting on a small raised platform, typical in many rural Korean houses, the men are standing. There is a fire on a slow roll in a cylindrical pit, stove. They are cooking barley rice. Though an exterior location, the fire is a hearth for a living room. Perhaps a centuries old scene in Korea. After a cup of coffee and the usual questions about where I'm from, who I am and such, I begin asking about the garden.

The house owner is an elderly woman, sturdy, stout and direct but friendly. She has the bowlegs of many Korean women her age, years of activity on the floor, sitting cross-legged, working. Her daughter is a woman in her 40s with downs-syndrome. I'm not sure where her husband is. I ask her and another elderly man who identifies as the boss or director of the senior center what is being grown in the Quonset-hut like structure made of a clear-ish plastic lining or tarp raised over a makeshift structure of thin wooden beams with plastic wire ties. He tells me the week before lettuce was planted and the plastic covering, raises the temperature of the ground so the plant sprouts faster. During his testimony about the lettuce, being used for communal use in the centre he asks about my background and what it's like where I'm from. Another man, I've seen for the first time asks me what people without a college education do where I am from. I respond that they do pretty much the same thing. Then I explain the roles of gardens and subsistence lifestyles in rural Saskatchewan and my Metis heritage. I also talk about my grandmother's garden. I make sure to explain the vast differences in our respective landscapes, that of Saskatchewan being primarily flat and prairie, though I am from a sub-Boreal region. They are rather impressed by this and thus warm up more to me to learn that I am not just some city slicker college kid. We have things in common.

I asked the clam or oyster shells or what ever shell that is found in the soil. He says it is just an easy place to throw out food wastes, but it also does add some extra nutrients to the soil in the process. I've noticed this practice in other places in Korea and Seoul as well. One being my local neighbourhood government office and the surrounding apartment buildings. This appears to be a common practice in Korea. I remember my grandmother putting egg shells in the garden. She said it was to kill the slugs. We then walk together to the senior centre, ignoring the filming in process.

There is a plastic covering of the same material as the Quonset-hut lettuce garden on a section of the Kyungrodan's back garden. He points out the organic top soil that he purchased to spread on the garden. There is still no planting activity nor the spreading of top-soil. He and I joke with one of the crew on the film set. They are filming a NAVER web-series he says. The "Boss" and I joke about young people not knowing anything about gardening, the crew member agrees. Through this discussion The Boss shares his thoughts on the village. He says there is no place like this in Seoul and that is why so many films are set or filmed in this location. He says most of the people are from rural and agricultural roots, at least the elderly people he knows. He thinks everyone in the city should have a little garden and agrees that some day maybe everyone will live in Seoul or Busan. He then finishes off our conversation by letting me know he served in the Vietnam War and was also in Saudi Arabia with the Korean Military. I leave the Kyungrodan by walking past the set. I ask permission first to walk through. They are very polite to me, especially after they see I'm an honorary member of the Kaemi-Maeul

Seniour Citizen Centre. I walk towards the temple, nothing much happening and then I go back down the road. Everyplace else is pretty much the same. I do my routine and then leave.

## **Field Notes: April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Today I stick with my previously established routine. The weather is nice, a dusting of cirrus clouds, but 98% blue sky. The PM2.5 that has lingered above Seoul and in my sinuses has finally moved on to Japan. A perfect spring day if ever. The trees are in bloom, pink, yellow and whites on nearly every street corner. Even the azeleas are out. I buy rice cake and head straight to the Kyungrodan or centre. I am greeted by the same women as last week and the week before and the week before that. They accept my offering and ask me if I've eaten. I lie but I'm too busy to eat. I then tell them I'm going to just go about my analysis. They are not really intrigued by the bright yellow mid90's style tech of the handheld GPS unit nor the industrial 50m measuring tape I've brought this time. They just accept I'm a student. I hear them talking in the background about my research, as if it is all so very matter of fact. He is the student from Canada, he is studying our gardens. I start with the cumbersome GPS and make a polygon plot of the centre's back garden. The plastic is removed this time and it has been divided into four rows of raised earth beds. It appears to be in preparation for planting. I soon give up on the GPS as it is running very slow and not particularly useful and just measure the meets and bounds of the garden. It measures from the edge of the building 590 cm long by 737 cm wide. It is divided into 4 rows of 115 cm wide with 30cm spacing between. The soil is still the same colour and has just small haphazard sprinkling of finer, lighter top soil in a small section of the garden. It is less a strategic move but appears as if just some soil fell out of a bag. I then notice the stout lady from last week. She is above me in a garden that I originally thought belonged to the house in front of hers but it appears as if it is her garden. She is harvesting spinach. I ask her what the plant is she informs me it is spinach. I then ask her when she planted it, I didn't notice it much last week. She informs me it was planted last year before the winter came. Spinach is a biannual crop. It is common practice in western society to plant spinach in the fall and early spring. This one was probably planted several weeks earlier and has just recently sprouted. She plucks the plants out of the soil, which to my eyes looks like it would be good for growing nothing. It is dry, coarse, full of shards of glass, sea shells and bits of other small pieces of rubbish. It also looks slightly lye laden. I will need to test the pH of the soil to verify. Yet despite what looks to my untrained eye as literally shit soil, out pops this bright green bushy delicious looking spinach and here this woman is plucking from the earth the sweat of her labour. She does not take all the crop rather just ones in no apparent order and moves to the entrance of her house and sits down with her daughter and begins separating the plant from roots, sitting on the floor, legs crossed, paying no attention to me while I study her and her garden. The lettuce plants have grown much in the past week and the garden directly adjacent her house no longer has the plastic hut over it. The frame is their, but like an elephant skeleton on the desert, it looks eerily out of place. I then move back to the centre's garden and take the temperature measurement then I measure her garden's temperature. I decide to add her garden to my list of gardens. I work like this, not able to focus on any one particular task or garden, switching back and forth from photographing, asking questions, jotting notes and being frustrated with the GPS. The Kyungrodan is always a wealth of information, activity and pleasant conversation. Today it is an overload of garden information, if such a thing is possible. After I fidget with my tools and pack things up I say good bye, taking a canteen full of water as

a reward for my personal pursuit of labour. The garden's soil temperature in sun was between 25°C and 28°C. Today's temperature was near 20°C. I'm glad I wore my silly special forces camouflage hat. I then check out the temple, nothing as usual. Too busy seeking nirvana. As I am heading back down the road I notice that the house next to the centre has loud music, English jazz and R&B coming out of the empty window sills. The house is under remodeling. I decided to stop in. Inside are two men who appear to be in their mid 30s or early 40s. Not much older than me, though they look weathered despite their thin builds, their faces show they work hard at what ever they do. They inform me they have just bought the house and are renovating it on their days off. They say there are many houses for sale at great prices in the village. They are not interested in gardening. We say our parting words and I leave. I hope to see them again.

I then head up to the Tea House. The owner was one of my first willing informants who provided the early interviews back in August and September of 2015. I have not seen her since October of last year. Every time I visit the house it is empty. She lives somewhere else and just operates the business in her old family estate. This time as I walk up the steps and am given my usual bow from the house cats, I notice the gate is open. A major event! I enter and after hollering out it my most polite Korean, "Who is here", I knew some one was there, I could see their shoes in the entrance way, a young man in his early 20s or late teens emerges from the darkened innards of the house into the canopied entry way to the property. I ask him if the tea house is open and if the owner is here? He says she isn't and doesn't know when it will open or she will be back. He looks a bit suspicious of me at first. I introduce myself as and explain my work and how I previously spoke with the owner last year, who it turns out is his aunt. He is just helping her organize and set up the tea house. Well, it would appear they will open after all. He then asks me if I am part Korean. I inform him I'm not. He is impressed by my Korean language ability. We talk a bit about the gardens and he agrees his aunt does a very good job, and he also really likes the architectural effect of the gourd vines. He says he remembers planting them with his Aunt last year. He is into art and is thinking about art school. I recommend he study landscape architecture, since he has such a good base for plant knowledge. We laugh, joke with the cats and I leave a note for his aunt with my name and number and has her to call me when she will start gardening. I don't expect anything but it was a nice conversation. I then start down the hill. It is nearing 2:30 and I need to make the most of my time.

House No. 145 has some dandelions and other food wastes in the garden, No. 138 still no activity. The pump house is nothing new, still, but Sunflower House is a surprise. The garden adjacent the prune tree in full bloom has been prepared for planting. Neat rows aligned and raised. Something is going to happen. As I'm leaving heading towards the entrance to the village I pass by the red-pepper house, No. 98. I meet again one of the ladies from the centre and her husband. We talk about their roadside garden. Yes last year in the fall they planted red-peppers but this year they are just going to put into two Persimmon tree saplings. The husband says they should be of fruit bearing size in three years. How Jewish.

*"When you come to the Land and you plant any food tree, you shall surely block its fruit [from use]; it shall be blocked from you for three years, not to be eaten. And in the fourth year, all its fruit shall be holy, a praise to the L-rd. And in the fifth year, you may eat its fruit."* – Leviticus 19:23-25. Funny how things from the old Land of Israel and the old Land of Korea have overlaps. I wonder if he will wait? As I'm leaving, I stop at the kanji house, or 50m2 House by OBBA architects. The new gentrifiers to the area. Still no activity but I happen upon an elderly man in his mid 80s, he has gold-rimmed square glasses with bifocals and gray-white hair carefully combed and parted at the side. His style evokes the set of the drama MadMen. He is shoveling soil, a medium brown, coffee grind in colour and texture over the usual coarse gray

that is the common soil type found in the village. I ask him where it is from and he says just next to the house. I hear him scrapping against the cliff that his house abuts. I can't see what he is doing though, his secret soil is stashed behind a homemade structure of weathered, rusting metal roofing, cement and dried old vines of some sort.

### **Field Notes: April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Sticking to routine pays off, not leaving for another day, or week, what should and could be done today, still a golden maxim. Overcoming the urge to be lazy proved to be well worth the effort in the end. Thus far the both the weather and timing had conspired against any time spent out doors. The PM2.5 level in Seoul was at a near historical highs and persisting. Fieldwork can wait, my lungs are more important. Finally, today the air cleared, the sky was blue and the ambient air temperature was 21°C. It was a perfect day for field work. I stuffed my pack and headed to Kaemi-Maeul.

On the way, I was surprised to run into one of the women from the seniors' centre while on the bus. She got on the bus, two stops past the subway station, where I boarded and I said hello. She scolded me for buying more rice cakes. She told me just to come, that they felt bad taking food from a student. I guess I won't mention my tax return for this year. She informed me that the side garden, would be cleaned up by outside volunteers in the coming days. Thinking I was interesting in flower gardens, more than vegetable gardens, she told me it would be decorated very nicely for my research. I told her I liked the veggie gardens more and wasn't that much into pretty. She seemed to appreciate my compliment to the nature of Kaemi-Maeul. This woman is a sort of de facto leader of the women. At roughly 160cm, with bow legs and a receding hairline, a result of the petrified perm that many women of her age sport, and always a slight glimmer in her eye, it is her personal confidence that lends to the whole charisma of this woman. Many Korean women of her age are tough, they have to be. Their lives were hard, and still are hard. She commands your attention, but not in a manner that makes you uncomfortable, rather you defer your respect to her because you want to, not you must. Korea still has an age stratified culture based on Confucian principles. How I talk to an elderly Korean, versus how I talk to someone my age and then younger is much different. The very language you use, enforces this ancient tradition. Yet, with this one person, despite the formality of verb conjugation, you can be at ease while at attention. She tells me to get off the bus with her at the top of village and take a side trail to the seniors' centre. Today she has brought a watermelon from the market.

I am invited into the women's room of the centre today. I move over to a table and start taking notes. Today the usual crowd is all here. The captain with a perm for a hat, the belle of the group, always with bright boiled-cherry lipstick on (I like to call her the Lady in Red), the nuna (friend that is older in age) and the scholarly one; she always corrects my grammar and reminds me when I'm not speaking polite enough. I've probably learned more Korean from her than anything garden related. Today I've stumbled into intra-centre politics. The women are angry at the constant presence of another man in their centre, whom I met on my first visit, that does not live in the village. They are also bickering about

the way the centre's president spends money and manages the finances. Annoyed at the fact they feed, clean and perhaps even clothe the men, yet have little say in the controlling of the budget, there was a subtle fight underway. The most senior man, whom always answers my questions and provides much insight into the past and gardens of Kaemi-Maeul, entered the room and spoke of his siding with the women. Perhaps a coup d'état is future for the centre. We will have to see. After I was nearly fois-de-gras fed strawberries, watermelon, rice cake and coffee by the women, despite my protests, we began talking about the gardens.

The vegetable garden at the centre contains just the basics of lettuce, spinach and a Korean kale like leafy green, along with the Korean radish –mu, all planted in the four slightly raised linear mounds of the garden. They were all planted at once and then covered with the standard sort of clear plastic tarp to warm the soil. I missed this event. It would have been great to participate in this activity, but getting the information after the fact is good to know. She says they all joined in and worked together to plant the garden. Specifically who did what and when, I'm not sure. After our discussion the time has passed quickly I notice it is already 1:48, I've been here since 12:20, way too long. I say my see you next times and head outside to take measurements and observations.

Garden 129-34, the house just above the centre, all the spinach is harvested by this time, yet the plastic hut is back up, inside it is amazing. The lettuce and other leafy greens have nearly doubled in size. The soil temperature is also much higher than the outside ambient temperature. The make-shift greenhouse works well. After I've made my observations I return back to the centre, where I meet the Lady in Red again. She without prompting starts talking about the side garden. It isn't used for vegetables, rather flowers, but the three trees, persimmon, Chinese apricot and the middle one date, are used for eating. Now I know what the trees are and what function they have. This centre is more than a communal place for village residents to maintain their youth, it is also a place to extract resources from their environment.

I walk on my normal route, down the road, I observe 129-2, the stepped garden on the stream. Still no one is home. I then move up the road to the top of the hill. The Tea House is shuttered again and there is no activity. The large root that is the gourd vine is brown, the gardens untended. There are several middle aged men taking photos, they are in some sort of photo-club. They take photos of me, as if I'm a part of the place. Maybe it is my bright yellow GPS and the old Parks Canada jacket I have on. I look official. I stop on the stairs that lead up the Tea House to have a snack. It is here that I run into a man emerging from a dark cave of a shanty, below the Tea House. This is his mother's house. I ask him about his garden and his house. He informs me that his elderly mother and he come here on the weekends in the spring and summer. They have an apartment in the city. The gardens, he has no knowledge or experience. He says it is all his mother's work. She now mostly just tends to flowers and not much for vegetables. She was not originally from Seoul, rather Kyungsang-do, or at least that is what I think I hear. We talk for about 10 minutes then we say our goodbyes, I leave him with my phone number and email. Maybe I will get a call. The Prunus tree is in full bloom.

As I'm leaving, I see a man observing the area, he has laminated file with house photos and addresses on it. I ask him if he is a real-estate speculator. He says he is from the district office and is assessing the slope safety, land-slides are a real issue here. I take his word for it, one of the retaining walls has collapsed, blocking the most direct route to the seniors' centre. It was being repaired that day. I then make my way down the road. It is 2:17 and my time is running out. There is no activity in the other gardens. They all still look the same, just plots of dirt. I wonder if my hypothesis is wrong. It is on my descent; I see someone finally emerge from 129-2. I waste no time and approach him. A most fortunate encounter. He invites me directly into his house and garden. His name is Chang and he and his wife have bought this house. He fixes it up on his days off and they plan on retiring here. Much like the two gentlemen I met before, they are not from here, but are drawn to the landscape of the village. Unlike the other renovators, they share a passion for gardening with Kaemi-Maeul. He and his wife have planted potatoes, that is what is under the black plastic. We do the same in New England. Their garden has three rows of potatoes, egg-plant, kale, spinach and lettuce. It is smaller upon closer inspection than I viewed from across the stream. Yet in this compact space is a bounty of providence. When I ask about the soil, he says it is what was originally what was in the property. It is a moist medium brown, with clumps and pebbles. It appears much more organic than the senior centre's or 129-34's soil. He and his wife tend the garden once a week at best or when they are at the house working on it for the repairs. This includes the watering and weeding and such. For the most part they just let it go. Today it was watered. They planted everything at once, in one stop, the potatoes, the eggplant, the lettuce and kale. It seems like a simple prospect. Furthermore, it is through our conversation that I learn more about the political and economic reality of the village. The residents are allowed to sell their houses, but the new owners may not alter the exterior or change the appearance of the land. The wall murals are meant to stay, even if the house owner doesn't like them. He says that many in the village would like to just paint their houses normal colours and are not all that impressed with the wall murals. Furthermore they are not allowed to expand, add on or remove the houses. Basically, the inside is theirs, everything else, public land. He points out all the empty houses in the village. Those who have money, leave. Those who don't stay. This is the same thing the Lady in Red said to me as well today, over a bright red strawberry. I asked her why she and the other residents had not left. They said they didn't want to live in an apartment. This man also said the same thing. He and his wife were tired of apartment living. They wanted a garden, a small house to their own, and to know their neighbours. In fact, when I asked about the planter pots in front of the house, he informed me they were the neighbour's across the lane. What an interesting thing. Her plants in front of his house on his steps. We spoke for nearly 40 minutes and noticing the time I said my goodbye and we exchanged phone numbers.

As I was leaving I noticed a sign. It says in Korean "No Illegal Gardening Here" yet who ever is using this garden, clearly ignored the sign. It is a fitting metaphor for this village. In a place, an environment that says, no gardening here, the people garden. Nature, whether human or nature nature, always finds a way.

## Field Notes: May 30th, 2016

What a difference time makes, especially only one month. I'll probably be grilled for the long lapse between field visits since the last presentation and I know I would have liked to have gone more often, just maybe this is all for the better. Children getting sick, exciting job opportunities that can't be turned down, family vacations that are a necessity for one's mental health. Life gets in the way and nothing is perfect, not even ethnographic research. However, upon spending a month away from KM it is with almost fresh eyes that I came back to the maeul this time and was overcome with awe again at the sight of her bounty. The pilgrims would gasp if they could see the horn of plenty that is KM, the gardens are all so green, where there was brown and gray dirt and soot, there is a lush *carpet vert* covering the topography, with only the gray of the road and the bright reds of the roses to contrast. My return after a long sojourn away was met with wonderment and a tingling of joy and thrill to see literally the fruits of the villagers' labours sprout forth and up or droop and dangle from one of the many Chinese apricot trees. Today I had an appointment, an invitation at the new to the maeul couple's house at the fork in the road with the large garden, so I was quick in my usual rounds, however I'm the patient and the maeul is the doctor, or perhaps could be. Though, this visit was not without sad news. Life like nature is not always pleasant nor kind to us. Neither friend nor foe, enemy or ally. Just life and nature.

I made my way up to the top of the hill via bus, the air temperature was near 30C today and the PM2.5 at near Beijing levels, too much to for this Canada prairie boy to handle. Also as an aside, to anyone who blames china for their country's sic Korea's bad air quality, they should take a look in the reflection on their smartphone's blank screen and think twice about their actions and consumer habits. Also, maybe take the subway or the bus and stop smoking everywhere. Ok well that's enough of a rant. Back to the topic, I made a quick trip of it up the hill and marched straight up to the tea house. I had been wondering where my first and most enthusiastic informant had been, every time I went I was always met by her young nephew. Today I found out why, after some prodding he told me the reasons for her reluctance to meet; she has cancer. May HSHM grant her a speedy and full recovery and he, her nephew, the strength to care for her. Yet despite her illness her garden still showed signs of tending and positive growth. Maybe he is learning a new life skill while he learns to garden. Caring for the ill is never easy, gardening is comparatively. I wished them well and left, heading straight for the KRD (seniour's centre).

What amazing amounts of growth in the past month. The cabbage, lettuce, potatoes, red and green peppers, apricots etc, between the KRD and house 134, just above it there was such diversity and abundances of vegetables. I didn't stay long this time, I just took some photos, measurements and then headed down the road to 129 to visit with my new friends.

I was met with a smile and introduced to the house owner's wife. He, a man in his late 50's, slim build with an almost frail frame and a relaxed attitude that gives off an internal youthfulness, was in the middle of insulating the outer walls in the room that led to the garden. Upon ducking my head to pass through the 1.2 meter high threshold that is the



house's door, as if emerging from a dark cave, in an architectural procession reminiscent of Louis Khan, I was met with an abrupt release and overwhelmed by the radiance of the mid-day high sun bouncing photons and UV rays off of the broad leaves of the squash, potatoes, kale, lettuce, red and green peppers and sunflowers that fill the surface of the garden.

This house's garden is personally my favourite in the village. To get to the garden one must enter the house and pass through a room with a ceiling height of no more than 1.4 or 1.5 meters. The ducking of the head is done in almost a religious sense of bowing in respect to the garden. Before one enters the temple it is dark and cold and cramped, then from passing from portal to the next we are met with a view, the gardens of Babylon have nothing on this terraced madang. That is not the end though. The garden is boarded by the mountain spring on the left and another stream in the front that form a confluence under the house and then stepped retaining walls on the other sides. To enter the garden one must cross over the stream on a bridge of baked-brown rust that is a steel plate. The plate strains under your weight and springs with every step. The crossing of the bridge is an adventure in itself. I am an Indiana Jones crossing over a deep jungle gorge on an ancient bridge, in search of the fountain of life, a garden.

Today I spoke with the wife about the garden. The husband deferred to her as he is more interested in restoring the house. She an equally youthful woman in her 50s was new to gardening and relied on her younger sister who runs a green-house and a farm in Gimpo for gardening advice. Today her teacher was present and barking orders, remove the squash to save the potatoes, that tree is a black berry tree, this is a weed and this plant is "sesame leaf" and such. When asked about garden maintenance, the wife said she only tends the garden twice a week at best and just removes weeds and upkeep the plants with essential trimming and such. She uses no pesticides, chemical fertilizers, herbicides and as for watering, that is happenstance as well. What a sight to be seen, such plenty could arise from such laissez-faire gardening habits. When we spoke of the soil, being the gwanag series, pretty much useful only to a pine, the wife told me of the previous owner's constant adding of food rubbish and shells to the soil over years to improve the fertility in the soil. A practice they continued. They did sprinkle a bit of peat or top soil one month before but only half a 20-kg bag's worth. The soil didn't need much. There is and has been a long practice of improving the present soil condition of what is underneath by mixing more fertile soil from the nearby mountain and constantly adding nutrients via directly throwing out compost in the garden and maintaining pH balance with shells mixed in the soil. An ages old practice that is employed to a near science in this village, and many others in Korea. Where the site conditions are nor historically were very conducive to proper gardening nor gardens of abundance the residents through traditions, old ways and little bits of ingenuity found a way. Einstein's maxim of invention's birth is an apt metaphor for Kaemi-Maeul's gardens. It was around 1:00 pm when I departed ways and took the GPS to map the trails and foot paths of the village. Kaemi-Maeul should be called ant village because at times the paths do really feel like looking through the glass of a child's ant-farm.

After my directionless saunter around the village all roads lead to the KRD. I went back and this time instead of talking about gardens nor gardening I had a lengthy, nearly 1 hour long talk about life, history, society and the Korean war with my usual buddies. Today we sat outside on the gazebo like structure, with the trickle of the mountain spring underneath in the background, a cool mountain breeze and slightly better air conditions that shitlim-dong in Gwanak-gu (it's interesting that gwanag(k)-soil is useless because gwanak-gu is equally as useless in my opinion the worst in Seoul, both socially and environmentally speaking that is...). Today we sat outside in the shade and spoke at length. It was such a calming and serene setting Mr. Yu fell asleep. I was left with Mr. Gwang to talk about the larger things in life. He encouraged me to get a PhD. He spoke at length of the period after the war when the "big-shots" with college degrees working in the government offices would look down on him when he, with many others would stand in line at the offices looking for essential services only to be lectured, shouted at and turned away. He spoke about how he was educated in the school of life but made sure his son got an education, to have a better life. In Korea he said, a PhD still means success. I mentioned about the current state of academics in the USA and Canada and how many of our "professors" have both squandered their responsibility to the pursuit of truth, instead pursuing ego and a slavish adherence to dogma (religious fanaticism comes is not just for the Jesus and Mohammed crowd) and how the larger parts of our society ignore "academics" these days. He still insisted that I get a PhD. As of writing I'm pretty much set against it, but he raised good points. We then talked about married life, how to have a successful marriage and raise your children. There could be no better ending for my last official site visit to Kaemi-Maeul. In the end the experience was about more than just gardens, rather about life, gardens are just the metaphor. Work hard, do what you want and set a goal, as Mr. Gwang told me, and see what happens, but respect the goal and the yourself the person sharing a journey or garden with you, you have to go together. By 2 pm it was getting time for me to leave. I showed him the drawings I made of the KRD and the garden as a gift for helping me with my thesis research. We said our byes and I hope to see him again soon. Kaemi-Maeul's gardens and people, there is nothing more I can say about either of them. I then walked down the road, checked in on the other gardens that are my research site's examples of the garden typographies in KM, all are doing well. I took some measurements and field data then was on my way. Time to go home, back to shitlim dong.

This is the final field note in this project and perhaps the longest. It concludes a year long process of both scientific and personal discovery. Everyone should have such an adventure. Everyone should garden.

## Appendix B: Environmental Data from Site Visits

	8/24/19 NA	34	12	coarse	U	0	U none	100	2/21	4/4 PM Y	Y	
3/28/16 Arrive 12:37 PM leave 2:36 PM												
129-34a	3/28/16	16 SE	lg	gravelly, coarse	1		1 lettuce		1:46 PM			
Kyungprodan I	3/28/16	16 E	lg	coarse	0		0 none		1:47 PM			
Kyungprodan I	3/28/16	17 SE	lg	coarse	0		0 none		2:47 PM			
Gaeamsa T	3/28/16	22 S	lg	fine, medium size	0		0 none		1:52 PM			
129-2 Steppes	3/28/16 NA	5	dg	medium coarse	3		2 lettuce, spinach		1:57			
145	3/28/16	18 S	lb	fine, medium size	0		0 NA		1:57			
149-2 Tea Ho	3/28/16	18 S	b	gravelly, coarse	0		0 NA		1:53			
138	3/28/16	14 S	dg	medium coarse	0		0 NA		2:17 PM			
Pump House	3/28/16	13 E	b	fine, medium size	0		0 NA		2:18 PM			
Pumpkin Gar	3/28/16 NA	SE	db = mb*	fine, moist	2		4 Pumpkins, date tree, Korean national flower tree, lettuce		2:30 PM			
sunflower Hz	3/28/16 NA	S	lb	medium coarse	0		0 NA		2:36 PM			
98	3/28/16 NA	SE	db	medium coarse	2		1 Persimmon Tree		2:36 PM			
Kanj-Jib	3/28/16 NA	E	lg	coarse	0		0 NA		14:36			
4/4/16 Arrive 12:36 leave 3:37												
129-34b	4/4/16	28 SAME	SAME	SAME	4		1 spinach	same	1:17 PM			
129-34a	4/4/16	28 SAME	SAME	SAME	4		1 lettuce	same	1:23 PM			
Kyungprodan I	4/4/16	25 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	same	1:52 PM			
Kyungprodan I	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	same				
Gaeamsa T	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 NA	same				
129-2 Steppes	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	4		2 lettuce, spinach	same				
149-2 Tea Ho	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 NA	same	2:37 PM			
145	4/4/16	28 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	same	2:47 PM			
138	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 NA	same	2:50 PM			
Pump House	4/4/16	20 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 NA	same	3:00 PM			
sunflower Hz	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 NA	same				
Pumpkin Gar	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	4		4 Pumpkins, date tree, Korean	same				
98	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	3		1 Persimmon	same				
Kanj-Jib	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 NA	same	3:25 PM			
20	4/4/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 NA	same	3:30 PM			
4/11/16 Arrive 12:46												
Kyungprodan I	4/11/16	16 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	SAME	1:04 PM			
Kyungprodan I	4/11/16	25 SAME	SAME	SAME	3		4 Persimmon Tree, date tree, SAME		1:48			
Gaeamsa T	4/11/16	25 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	SAME	1:50			
129-34a	4/11/16	26 SAME	SAME	SAME	3		4 spinach, lettuce, kale, leafy SAME		1:57			
129-2 Steppes	4/11/16	28 SAME	SAME	SAME	3		4 potato, lettuce, spinach, kale SAME		2:08			
149-2 Tea Ho	4/11/16	26 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	SAME	2:11			
145	4/11/16	26 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	SAME	2:47			
138	4/11/16	25 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	SAME				
Pump House	4/11/16	18 SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	SAME	NA			
sunflower Hz	4/11/16	26 SAME	SAME	SAME	2		0 in prep	SAME	NA			
Pumpkin Gar	4/11/16	26 SAME	SAME	SAME	3		4 Pumpkins, date tree, Korean	SAME	NA			
Kanj-Jib	4/11/16 NA	SAME	SAME	SAME	0		0 none	SAME				
5/30/16 arrive 11:45												
tea house	5/30/16	25 SAME	lb	SAME	5		2 lettuce, spinach	SAME	FM2	11:45 partial	partial	
Kyungprodan I	5/30/16	28 SAME	lg	SAME	5		5 lettuce, spinach, peppers etc SAME	BBRY	12:00 y			
Kyungprodan I	5/30/16	27 SAME	lg	SAME	6		6 sprouts, dates, persimmon, SAME	BBRY	12:00			
Gaeamsa T	5/30/16 NA	SAME	NA	SAME	0		0 NA	SAME	BBRY	NA	NA	
129-34a	5/30/16	29 SAME	lg	SAME	5		4 peppers, lettuce, spinach SAME	FM2	12:00 y			
129-2 Steppes	5/30/16	30 SAME	lb+lb	SAME	5		4 kale, lettuce, potatoes, etc SAME	FM2	12:00 y			
Pump House	5/30/16	28 SAME	db = mb*	SAME	5		1 lettuce	SAME	FM2	1:50 y		
Pumpkin Gar	5/30/16	30 SAME	db = mb*	SAME	5		4 Pumpkins, date tree, Korean	FM2	1:55 y			
sunflower Hz	5/30/16	30 SAME	lb	SAME	5		1 lettuce	SAME	BBRY	2:05 y		
98	5/30/16	32 SAME	db = mb*	SAME	5		4 persimmons, flowers, etc.	SAME	BBRY	2:05 y		
Kanj-Jib	5/30/16	30 SAME	lg	SAME	5		1 lettuce.	SAME	BBRY	2:07 y		

## Appendix C: Scans of Fieldnotes from notebook

[illegible]

[illegible]

## Appendix D: Selected photos from site visits



## Appendix E: Survey Format & Introduction Letter

### 개미마을 정원조사

### 연구 목표 및 소개



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안녕하십니까

저는 현재 서울대학교 환경대학원 조경학과 석사과정을 공부하는 외국인 학생입니다. 제 연구 대상은 서울에 사는 사람과 식물에 대해서입니다. 저는 개미마을분들의 정원과 식물 키우는 방법, 지식에 대해 몇가지 여쭙보고 싶습니다. 여기에 주신 모든 정보는 외부공개 없이 학교 안에서 연구에만 사용하겠습니다. 이 프로젝트는 저의 논문 연구이고, 제 논문의 주제는 인간의 역사와 기억 그리고 정원입니다. 바쁘시겠지만 조금의 시간을 내주시어 설문 작성을 해 주시면 대단히 감사하겠습니다. 설문이 완료되면 제가 드린 편지봉투에 넣어 동봉하시고 추가비용없이 그냥 우편으로 보내주시면 감사하겠습니다.

제라드

Hello

I am currently a graduate student at Seoul National University's Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Department of Landscape Architecture. My research is on plants and people in the city of Seoul and I would like to ask a few questions about your gardening methods and knowledge. All information is kept private and not distributed to outside persons. This is my thesis research project and I am interested in history, memory and gardening. I understand you are very busy and if you have time to fill out this survey I will be very grateful. Please fill out the survey as much as you can and mail it using the paid-postage envelope provided. Thank you for your time and best wishes.

Sincerely, Jarod Guillette,  
Graduate Researcher, Lab on Landscapes (LoL),  
Graduate School of Environmental Studies,  
Seoul National University.

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# 개미마을 정원조사

# 현재와 미래의 키우는 정원 里人庭園知識



이 부분은 본인이 현재 사는 집이나 그곳에 있는 정원 또는 현재 키우는 식물에 관한 내용입니다. 질문을 보시고 가장 가까운 답에 표시해 주세요.

1 현재 정원에서 키우는 식물을 선택해 주세요.

- |                              |                               |                              |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 고구마 | <input type="checkbox"/> 해바라기 | <input type="checkbox"/> 깻잎  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 배추  | <input type="checkbox"/> 콩    | <input type="checkbox"/> 상추  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 고추  | <input type="checkbox"/> 토마토  | <input type="checkbox"/> 시금치 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 호박  | <input type="checkbox"/> 양파   | <input type="checkbox"/> 버섯  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 조롱박 | <input type="checkbox"/> 케일   | <input type="checkbox"/> 기타  |

기타 선택하신 분은 밑의 공간에 기타 식물이름을 적어주세요.

2 앞으로 다른 식물을 키운다면 키우고 싶은 식물을 선택해 주세요.

- |                              |                               |                              |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 고구마 | <input type="checkbox"/> 해바라기 | <input type="checkbox"/> 깻잎  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 배추  | <input type="checkbox"/> 콩    | <input type="checkbox"/> 상추  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 고추  | <input type="checkbox"/> 토마토  | <input type="checkbox"/> 시금치 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 호박  | <input type="checkbox"/> 양파   | <input type="checkbox"/> 버섯  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 조롱박 | <input type="checkbox"/> 케일   | <input type="checkbox"/> 기타  |

기타 선택하신 분은 밑의 공간에 기타 식물이름을 적어주세요.

3a 귀하의 집에 있는 정원의 대략적인 위치는 어디입니까?

- |                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 집 바로 앞/옆 | <input type="checkbox"/> 지정 텃밭    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 도로 위에    | <input type="checkbox"/> 집근처 외( ) |

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3b 귀하의 집의 정원의 크기는 어느 정도입니까?

- |                               |                              |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2.5m | <input type="checkbox"/> 15m |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 5m   | <input type="checkbox"/> 20m |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 10m  |                              |

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Lab on Landscapes (LoL)





## 개미마을 정원조사

## 고향과 정원 지식



## 里人庭園知識

이 부분은 본인의 고향과 식물 지식에 관한 부분입니다.

### 4 본인의 고향은 어디십니까?

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 서울/ 개미마을  | <input type="checkbox"/> 인천                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 서울/ 다른 동네 | <input type="checkbox"/> 대구                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 부산        | <input type="checkbox"/> 지방/시골 마을/기타*         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 광주        | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="text"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 북한( )     |   |

\*기타를 선택하신 분은 빈칸에 지역을 적어주세요.

### 5 본인은 정원, 식물 키우는 방법을 누구에게 배웠습니까?

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 부모님       | <input type="checkbox"/> 이웃 사람                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 가족, 친지    | <input type="checkbox"/> 친구                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 책, 백과사전   | <input type="checkbox"/> 스스로/기타*              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 학교        | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="text"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 텔레비전, 인터넷 |   |

\*기타를 선택하신 분은 빈칸에 적어주세요.

### 6 본인은 언제부터 정원, 식물을 키우기 시작했습니까?

- ☐ 어렸을 때
- ☐ 10대
- ☐ 20대
- ☐ 30대 이상

### 7 본인은 어디에서 처음 정원이 나 식물 키우기를 했습니까?

- ☐ 개미마을
- ☐ 고향
- ☐ 다른 곳\*( )

\*다른 곳의 경우 구체적인 장소를 기입하시기 바랍니다.

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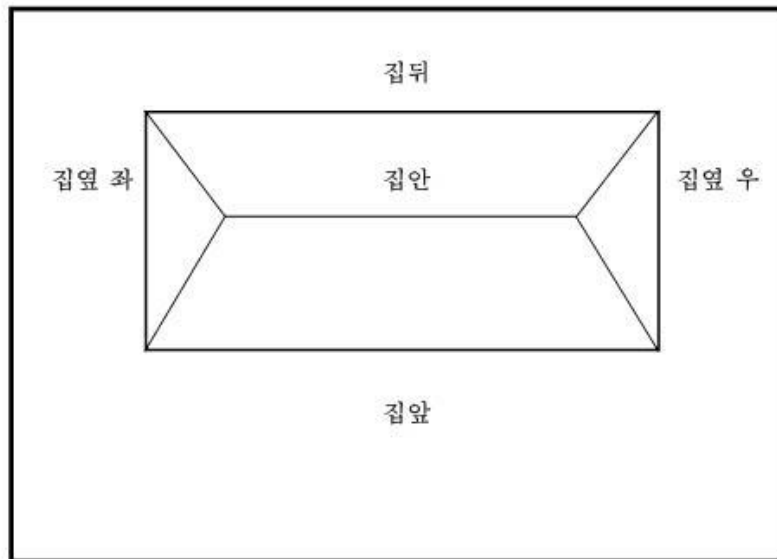


## 개미마을 정원조사

## 집과 정원 평면도 里人庭園知識



8 집과 정원평면도는 아래 그림에 귀하의 집 정원의 대략적인 평면을 그려주시기 바랍니다.\*



----- 도로 -----

○ 향아리

□ 화분

\*실내화분과 옥상화분도 그림에 포함시켜 향아리에 심어진 식물도 그림을 그려주시기 바랍니다.

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민속식물학 조사 일반 정보

1. 나이 ( ) 2. 성별 남 / 여 3. 이름 ( )
- 4a. 고향 ( ) 4b. 현재 동네 거주 기간 ( )

---

민속식물학 조사 정원지식 정보

5. 정원 활동을 하는 시간대는 언제입니까?

- ☐ 아침 (8시~12시)
- ☐ 이른 오후 (12시~18시)
- ☐ 늦은 오후 (18시~21시)
- ☐ 밤 (21시~24시)
- ☐ 새벽 (24시~3시)

6. 이제 봄이 오고 있습니다. 어떤 정원활동 먼저 시작하시겠습니까? 밑칸에 적어주시기 바랍니다.

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7. 정원활동을 언제 시작해도 되는지에 대해 어떻게 알게 되셨습니까?

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